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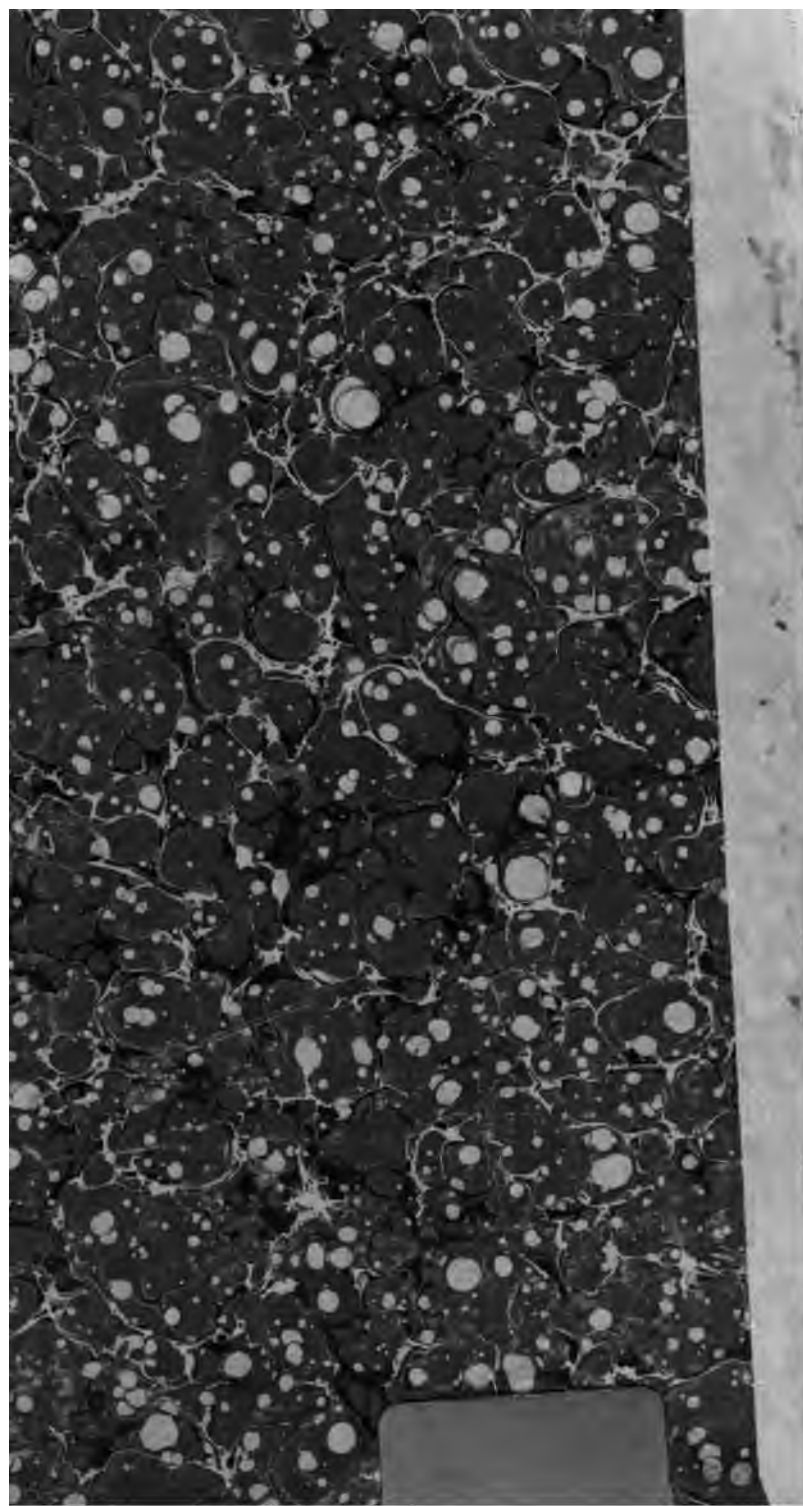
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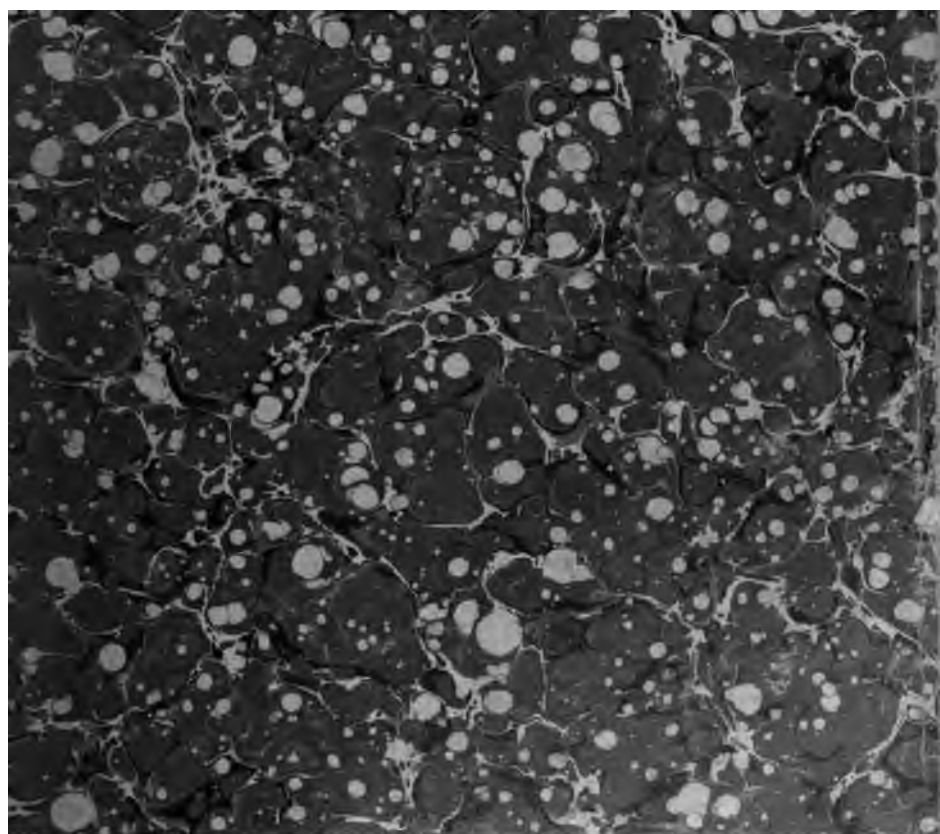
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ITALY AND HER INVADERS

HODGKIN

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Frontispiece to Vol. III.

MAUSOLEUM OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA.

ITALY AND HER INVADERS

476—535

BY

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HON. D.C.L. OF DURHAM UNIVERSITY

VOL. III

BOOK IV. THE OSTROGOTHIC INVASION

Oxford

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PREFACE.

AFTER an interval of five years I offer to the public two more volumes of my history of Italy and her Invaders. I still propose to myself in the main the same objects which were described in the Preface to the previous volumes. Only, in deference to the opinion of some of my most esteemed reviewers, I have devoted considerably more attention to the affairs of the Church and the Eastern Empire than I ventured to do in the former portion of my work. Artistically the book probably suffers by the breaks thus caused in the main course of the narrative; but I hope that its scientific value may be increased by this attempt to deal with two factors so important in their influence on the age as the Pope of Rome and the Cæsar of Byzantium.

It will perhaps alarm my readers to find that in two bulky volumes I only traverse a period of seventy-six years, and especially that in the second of these an interval of only eighteen years is accounted for. But when it is remembered that in this volume I have to describe a contest not

much shorter or less important than the Peloponnesian or the Second Punic War, and that this contest is described for us by an eye-witness, not altogether unworthy to be called by the same name of historian which we accord to Thucydides and Polybius, I trust I may be acquitted of the charge of unnecessary diffuseness. At any rate, from the scanty supply of historical material, I may safely promise my readers and myself a much more rapid progress through the two centuries that lie next before me.

The same fact must also be my apology for the extremely warlike character of my fourth volume. Few persons could be less fitted than I by inclination or previous training to write a military history: and I heartily accept the condemnation passed on 'drum and trumpet histories' by some of our later critics. But after all I am obliged to tell the tale as it is told to me. The compiling historian sits in the last and lowest room of the workshop of Time, weaving his web of such materials as are furnished him by others: and if the thread reaches his hands all crimson with the stain of war, the fabric which leaves his loom must be dyed with the same terrible colour.

There are two names to which I feel bound to express an obligation which is more than can

be discharged by the few slight notices at the head of my chapters. Professor Felix Dahn of Königsberg, by his admirable book on 'The Kings of the Germans,' has earned a great debt of gratitude from all students of the history of the migration of the Barbarian Peoples. His careful analysis of every passage bearing on his great subject saves us who come after him an infinity of labour; and the essentially juristic character of his training and his pursuits entitles him to speak with authority on all questions of law and government. Occasionally the reader will discover in a foot-note a hinted doubt as to the correctness of some small point on which Dahn has expressed an opinion. Wherever this occurs, he may safely conjecture that the main propositions in the text come from Dahn's work, and are affirmed with confidence on his authority.

My other obligation is of a more personal kind. My friend and valued counsellor Mr. Bryce has been for some time preparing to write the history of Justinian, and in this preparation has of course traversed much of the same ground which I survey in these volumes. Especially the wonderful defence of Rome by Belisarius and the site of the battle between Narses and Totila have been with him favourite subjects for investigation; and he

has in the most generous way shared with me the results of his labours. I regret that he has not yet published any memoir on either of these subjects to which I can refer; but this general expression of my obligation will, I trust, be sufficient to show the true relation between his book and mine, whensoever his Parliamentary labours shall allow him to pluck the fruit which has long been ripening. It is probable that when that time comes it will be seen that Mr. Bryce takes a more favourable view of the characters both of Justinian and Theodora than I have done. I have not wished to assume the attitude of an advocate, but it is possible that I may unintentionally have done something less than justice to Justinian the persistent enemy of the Ostrogothic people, and to Theodora the oppressor of Belisarius. If this be so, I hope the balance will be redressed by the judicial impartiality of Justinian's biographer.

Many other friends have helped me in various ways, whose names, though not mentioned here, are gratefully remembered by me. I am bound, however, to express my obligation to Mr. C. F. Keary of the British Museum for his assistance in preparing the plate of Ostrogothic coins; to the executors of the late Mr. J. H. Parker for allowing me to copy some of his very valuable

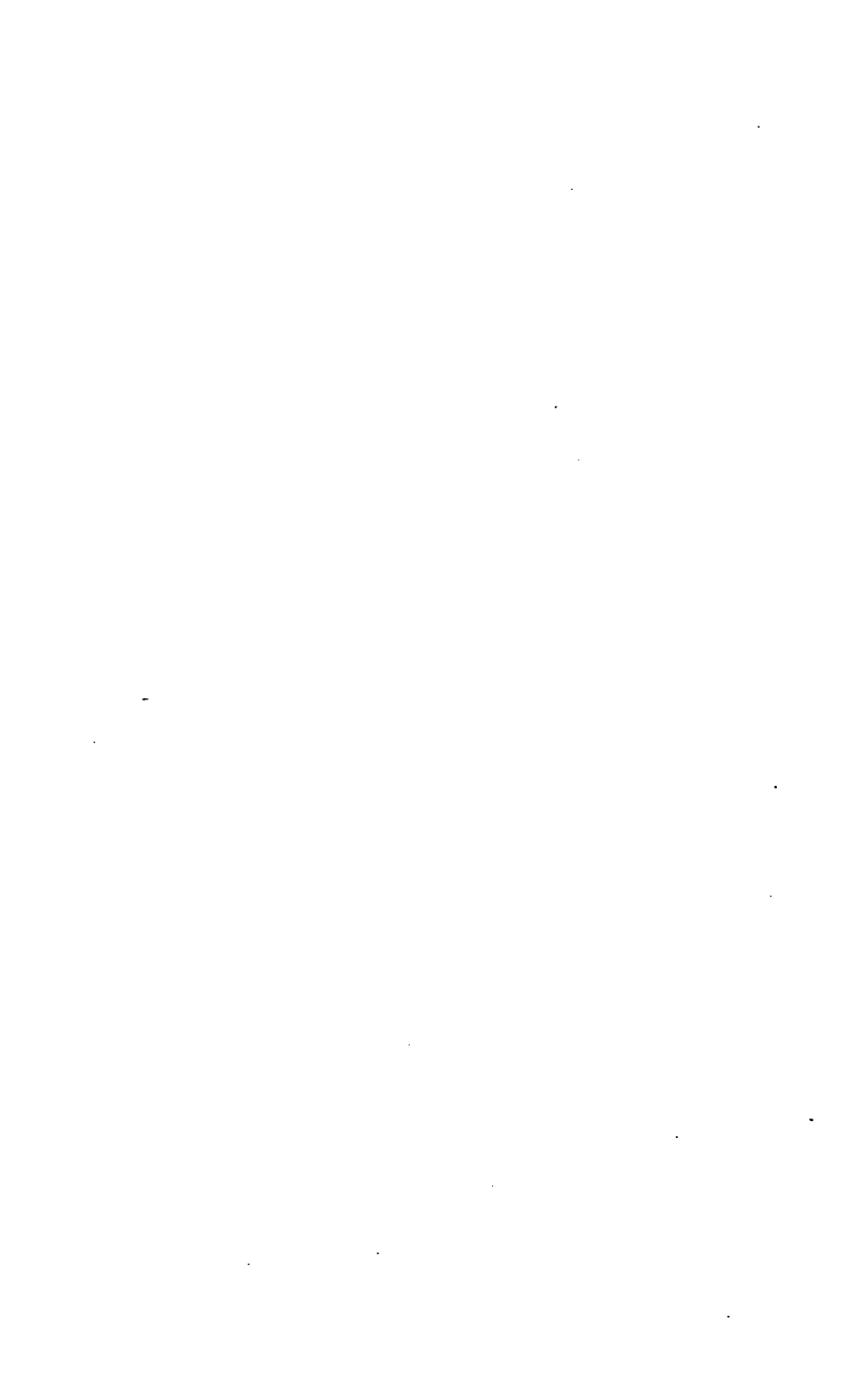
Roman photographs; and to Professor Beloch and his publishers for permission to use the beautiful map of Neapolis which accompanies his monograph on Campania.

Traversing so wide a field and with far less help from Dictionaries and Commentaries than is afforded to the student of the better known portions of Ancient History, I cannot expect to have avoided many errors. I heartily thank beforehand, and recognise as my best friends, those reviewers who shall out of the fulness of their own knowledge correct the mistakes into which I have fallen, and enable me in future volumes or a future edition to attain more nearly to my own ideal of historical accuracy.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

BENWELLDENE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE :

March 11, 1885.



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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 18, l. 6 from bottom, for 'Marcion' read 'Marcian.'

P. 23, l. 19, put 'Franks' above 'SUAVI.'

P. 66, last line, for 'Papyrium' read 'Papirium.'

P. 110, l. 14, for 'Onöulph' read 'Onoulf.'

P. 145, l. 8 from bottom, for 'the churches of Ticinum and Pavia' read 'the two churches of Ticinum (Pavia).'

P. 148, note 2, for 'Gregorinus' read 'Gregorovius.'

P. 225, marginal note (date of the battle of the Adda), for 492 read 490.

P. 226, l. 6 from bottom, and p. 234, l. 1, for 'Clapis' read 'Classis.'

P. 330, l. 9 from bottom. Instead of 518, 516 or 517 is the most probable date of the birth of Athalaric. There is a difference, as stated at p. 586, between Procopius and Jordanes as to Athalaric's age at the death of his grandfather. Procopius makes him eight years old at that time, Jordanes 'infantem vix decennem.' Jordanes is the more likely to be right of the two.

P. 354. In 'The Marriages of the Amals' alter date of Sigismund's death from 524 to 523. (Godomar was proclaimed King in 524, but there was apparently an interval between his brother's death and his own accession.)

P. 399, head-line, for 'Siege of Narbonne' read 'Siege of Arles.'

P. 420, l. 10 from bottom, for 'five and twenty' read 'seven and twenty': and alter first date in the margin from 493 to 491.

P. 516. *Note at end of Chapter XI:*

'Since this Chapter passed through the press, I have read the valuable monograph by Herm. Usener on the relation of the Roman *Senate* to the Church in the days of the Ostrogoths (in 'Commentationes Philologae in honorem Theod. Mommseni': Berlin, 1877). The author claims for the Senate at this period a large

share in the practical regulation of the affairs of the Church, and even some right to be consulted as to the definition of her doctrines. The point is a most important one, especially if Usener be correct in maintaining that these functions of the Senate belonged to it as heir of the rights of the *laity* in the Primitive Church. Ecclesiastically my sympathies are entirely on Herr Usener's side: but I scarcely think he has yet made out his case, though he certainly shows cause for further enquiry.'

P. 543, l. 12 from bottom, for 'son of a consul' read 'grandson of a consul.' We may fairly assume that the Opilio who was Consul in 453 was grandfather of Cyprian. Whether the Opilio who was Consul in 523 was father or brother of Cyprian I see no means of deciding. The former is, however, slightly the more probable theory.

P. 590, l. 2, for 'the African Church' read 'the city of Carthage.'

P. 592, l. 12, for 'Theudibert' read 'Theodoric,' and l. 19, after 'Theudibert' add 'son of Theodoric.' (Theodoric died and was succeeded by Theudibert while this Burgundian war was going forward.)

P. 691, l. 10 from bottom, for 'guard' read 'general.'

Notes on Chapter XIV.

On the eve of going to press I have obtained through the kindness of Prof. Paspatis of Athens the following corrections of some points in my account of the insurrection of the ΝΙΚΑ. Prof. Paspatis is one of the highest authorities on all points of Byzantine archæology, and I am much indebted to my friend, Father Hirst, for placing me in communication with him.

P. 616 (last sentence in the text). All the *four* factions of the Circus are mentioned by so late an author as Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tenth century).

P. 619, note 3. *Καλόπους* and *καλοπόδιον* both mean a shoemaker's last (not 'the fine-footed one'). This makes the pun about τὰ *τσαγγαρία* (the shoemakers' shops) clearer.

P. 621. Prof. Paspatis throws a little doubt on this explanation of the term *ζεῦγμα* (which seems to be that adopted by Ducange in his Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 180). He says, 'The two gulfs near Constantinople now called the Small and Great Tjekmedjé were formerly called *ζεῦγματα*.'

P. 625 (last sentence but three). The Senate House and the Baths of Zeuxippus were in the near neighbourhood of the Hippodrome on the east. The Prætorian Palace was on the west of it. The situation of the Baths of Alexander is unknown.

P. 626. The best authority as to this conflagration is Procopius. The buildings in the Augusteum (east of the Hippodrome) were all consumed. The fire did not penetrate to the Palace itself, which rose on the east of the Augusteum, but the Octagonon very near the southern wall of the Palace was consumed. The churches of St. Irene and St. Sophia which perished in this conflagration were wooden buildings.

P. 626, n. 2. The hospital here mentioned *was* the earliest and the most sumptuous of its kind.

P. 630, l. 1. The ships were at the harbour of Bucoleon (a little harbour below the church of St. Irene). They could not be moored outside on account of the strength of the current of the Bosphorus.

P. 632, l. 7. The Cochlea was a narrow and very dark spiral staircase, not 'broad and stately.' Similar staircases are mentioned in a great many churches.

P. 633, l. 7. 'This gate was called *πύλη νεκρά*, *porta mortua*: not *πύλη νεκρῶν*, *porta mortuorum*.' [But what meaning are we to attach to the Dead Gate?]



BOOK IV.

CH. I.

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BOOK IV.

THE OSTROGOTHIC INVASION.

CHAPTER I.

A CENTURY OF OSTROGOTHIC HISTORY.

Authorities.

Sources :—

Our sole source of information for this period is JOR-BOOK 1
DANES, as I now propose to call the Gothic historian whom CH. 1
in the previous volumes I called, though under protest,
JORNANDES. The appearance (in 1882) of that which will
be henceforward the standard edition of the two treatises
of this indispensable but irritating writer, revised as the
text has been with the most elaborate care by Professor
Mommson, disposes of the Jornandes form of the name
as well as of many other points previously in dispute.
While reminding the reader of the short account of Jor-
danes given in the early part of this history (vol. i. pp.
43-44), I may also refer to a fuller notice contributed
by me to the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Guides :—

Köpke, *Die Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen*
(Berlin 1859): a very carefully written monograph, the
foundation of some of the best work of later enquirers.
Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen, Abtheilungen 1-5*
(Munich 1861, and Würzburg 1866-1870). See remarks
in Preface.

BOOK IV. I have now to record the establishment of a
CH. 1. Teutonic kingdom in Italy, which, more than any other of the new states arising on the ruins of the Roman Empire, promised to promote the happiness of the human race, which seemed likely to draw forth all that was noblest in the manhood of the barbarian, all that was most refined in the culture of the Italian, and to weld them both into one harmonious whole ; a kingdom the Arian ruler of which so wisely deferred to the feelings of his Catholic subjects, and held with so even a hand the balance between contending creeds that he all but solved the difficult problem how to construct ' a free Church in a free State ;' a kingdom the preservation of which would (as I have already hinted¹) have helped forward the civilisation of Europe by five centuries, and would perhaps have contributed something towards the softening and ennobling of human life even at the present day. I have then to describe through what faults and flaws in its own structure, by what craft of foreign foes, by what treachery of ungrateful subjects, by what marvels of strategic skill this fair kingdom was shattered and brought to nought. Two names, which will ever defy oblivion, connect themselves with the two acts of this mighty drama: Theodoric with the establishment of the Ostrogothic monarchy, Justinian with its fall. But while Theodoric is all ours, no part of his career being outside the limits of our subject, there are vast spaces in the

¹ Vol. ii. p. 551.

life and acts of the Byzantine Emperor which are BOOK IV.
 foreign to our present purpose, and upon which CH. 1.
 we must not allow ourselves to enter.

I proceed to sketch in brief outline the history of the Ostrogothic people until the story of the nation begins to narrow into the biography of a man, their young king Theodoric.

The Ostrogoths were that member of the great Position of the Ostrogoths in the Third Century.
 East-German family of nations which first attained to widely extended dominion. Through the greater part of the third century after Christ theirs was the chief controlling influence in the vast plains between the Baltic and the Euxine which form the Lithuania and Southern Russia of modern history. Like the other German nations at that time, they were probably passing or had recently passed from the nomadic to the settled form of society, from dependence on flocks and herds to dependence on the tillage of the ground as their chief means of support. The head of this powerful but loosely compacted state was Hermanric¹ the Hermanric: about 335-375.
 Amal, sprung from the seed of gods, still true to the martial religion of Odin and Thor; a Goth of Goths, and a Teuton of Teutons. Under his orders moved to battle the hosts of the Visigoths who dwelt between him and the Danube, of the Gepidae who perhaps occupied the plains of Central Russia in his rear. The forecast of European history which then seemed probable would have been that a great Teutonic Empire stretching

¹ Or Hermanaric. See vol. i. p. 98.

BOOK IV. from the Danube to the Don would take the place
CH. 1. which the colossal Slav Empire now holds in the map of Europe, and would be ready, as a civilised and Christianised power, to step into the place of Eastern Rome when in the fulness of centuries the sceptre should drop from the nerveless hands of the Caesars of Byzantium.

Hunnish
onset.

All these possible speculations as to the future were upset and the whole course of human history to the latest generations was modified by the rush of the swarthy dwarfish Huns over the shallows of the Sea of Azof and the impetuous charge of their light cavalry upon the unwieldy masses of the army of Hermanric. The defeat of the Ostrogothic army is acknowledged by the national historian. The death of the Ostrogothic king, who was in very advanced age, is not quite so honestly related. It is attributed to a wound received from rebellious subjects, but seems to have been in truth the death of a suicide, in despair at the sudden overthrow of his power.

Subordina-
tion to the
Huns.

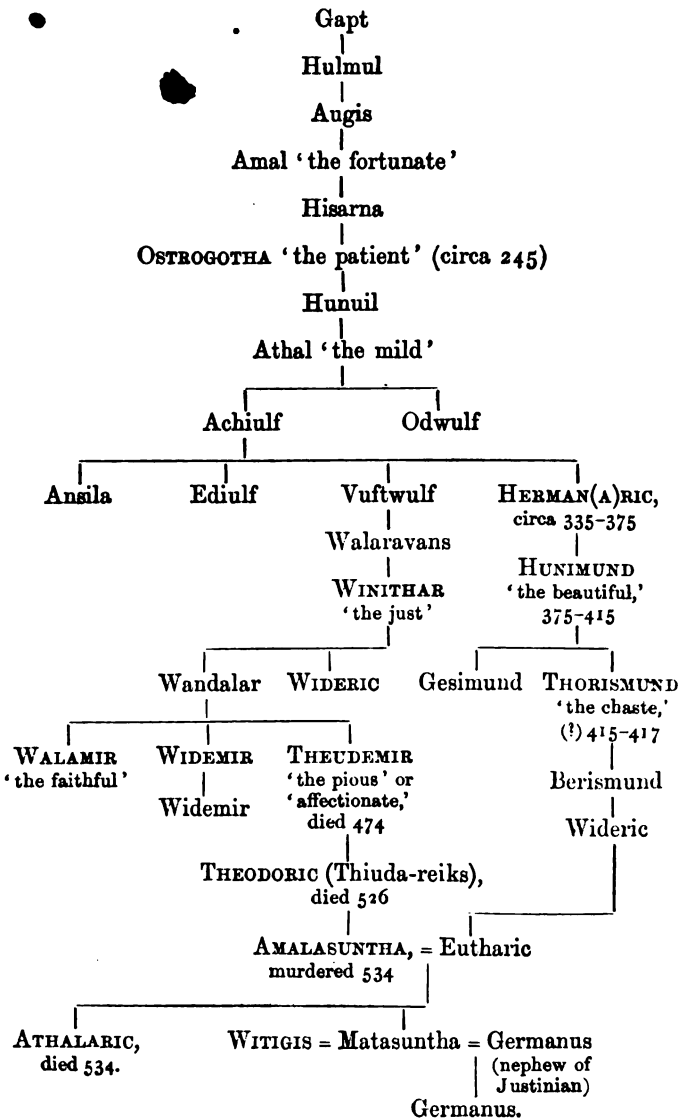
The collapse of the power of Hermanric did not bring with it so disastrous ruin to his people as would have been the case with a more highly organized state. The Hunnish monarch needed soldiers, and the Ostrogoths could supply them. He cared little about law and government, and therefore the Ostrogoths might keep such political institutions as they had. They were pushed somewhat westward, probably over the Carpathian mountains, and they no longer possessed the

PEDIGREE OF THE AMALS.

(From JORDANES and CASSIODORUS.)

(Names of Kings and Queens in capital letters; the epithets from CASSIODORUS.)

BOOK IV.
CH. 1.



BOOK IV. suzerainty over the vast and loose confederacy of
CH. I.

Otherwise there was little change, only their king escorted the chariot of the conqueror instead of filling it. There are even indications that the Hun, regarded at first by his Gothic antagonist with blended feelings of fear and disgust, became somewhat less hateful as he was better known. Balamber, the monarch of the Huns at the time of their great migration, married Vadamerca, an Ostrogothic princess¹; and the bold attempt of *Winithar*, and, after his death, of the guardians of his infant son *Wideric*, to shake off the Hunnish yoke², seems to have met with but a faint and partial response among their countrymen. *Hunimund* the son of Hermanric, who, as vassal of the conquerors, ruled over the great mass of the Ostrogothic people, is described as an active warrior, conspicuous for his manly beauty, and as having fought successfully against the Suevic nation, probably situated on his northern or north-western border³.

Hunimund,
375-415(?)

The reign of Hunimund, which seems to have been a time of comparative prosperity for the

¹ Who, however, can hardly have been, as stated by Jordanes, granddaughter of Winithar. Winithar is already two generations below Hermanric, and his grandson Theudemir died in 474, nearly a century after the Hunnish irruption. (See pedigree at beginning of chapter.) We may lessen but hardly remove the difficulty by translating *neptem* niece.

² See i. 99.

³ Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 457) suggests that these Suevi are perhaps the *Semnonēs* of Tacitus.

Ostrogothic people, probably occupied the years BOOK IV.

between 375 and 415¹. Important events were CH. 1.

then going forward in the West of Europe, events in which their Visigothic kinsmen and their old

Vandal neighbours were distinguished as chief movers, but in which they had no share. About

the year 415 *Thorismund*, son of Hunimund, suc- Thorismund, 415-416.

ceeded his father. He is said to have been still

'in the flower of his youth,' which we should

hardly have expected from a grandson of the aged

and long since deceased Hermanric, nor from a son

of Hunimund, who had just died after a reign of

forty years. In the second year of his reign he

marched with an army against the Gepidae, won a

mighty victory over them, but, apparently in the

moment of victory, was killed by a fall from his

horse.

On the death of Thorismund some strange turn Inter-regnum.

of fortune or popular caprice, the workings of which are evidently veiled in the narrative of

Jordanes, obscured for a time the Amal kingship.

We are told that, so great was the grief of the

Ostrogoths for the loss of their young hero, that

for forty years they would not allow any one to

succeed in his place. His son Berismund, loathing

the foreign dominion of the Huns and despising

his nation for submitting to it, wandered off to the

¹ We get the closing date (which is only an approximation) from the story of Berismund (see below), who, two or three years after the death of his grandfather Hunimund, migrated to Gaul, and arrived there in 418, at the time of the death of King Walia (Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, xxxiii and xlviii).

BOOK IV. West and joined his fortunes to those of the Visigothic conquerors of Gaul, in which country he left descendants, one of whom¹ was eventually to receive in marriage the daughter of the great Theodoric. At the end of the forty years' interregnum the Ostrogoths, who considered that by this time Thorismund had been sufficiently lamented, reverted to the Amal stock, and raised *Walimir*, grandson of the patriotic but unfortunate Winithar, to the vacant throne.

Suggested
explanation
of the
story in
Jordanes.

There can be no doubt that this story of the forty years' mourning for the brave young Thorismund is mere Saga. Nations do not suspend the working of an institution so essential to their safety and well-being as was the barbaric royalty for an interval longer than a whole generation out of mere sentimental considerations. What was the real nature of the revolution which is thus poetically veiled from us we can only conjecture. A German author² has with some plausibility interwoven into this part of the history a detached notice preserved for us in the official letters of Cassiodorus³ concerning a certain Gensemund. The writer is praising the quality of loyalty, when exhibited towards the boyish heirs of a great chief by leaders who have been adopted into his family⁴.

¹ Eutharic, grandson of Berismund and husband of Amalasuntha.

² Köpke, p. 141, followed by Dahn, ii. 60.

³ *Variarum*, viii. 9.

⁴ As Tulum, whom he is addressing, had been into the Amal

'Of this fidelity there is a distinguished example in the Gothic race. That Gensemund, whose fame is spread abroad throughout the whole world, though only adopted as a son-in-arms [by the deceased king], joined himself with such devotion to the Amal race that he rendered service of anxious fidelity to its heirs, although he himself was besought to wear the crown. He made his own merits available for others [his wards], and with unwonted moderation reserved for children the dignity which might have been bestowed on himself. Therefore his fame lives eternally in the songs of the Gothic race: he despised transitory greatness and earned deathless renown.'

BOOK IV.
CH. I.
Story of
Gense-
mund.

It is possible that the interpolated reign of this loyal hero may be the true explanation of the fabled forty years' mourning for Thorismund. But on the other hand it is to be remarked, (1) that no word from Cassiodorus himself assigns these events to this particular period; (2) that if Cassiodorus had told the story here it would have excluded the Saga which Jordanes has without doubt copied from him; (3) that the point of the story of Gensemund is that he *refused* the crown which, in order to make the hypothesis fully fit the facts which are to be accounted for, he must have worn for forty years; and (4) that as the new Amal kings were evidently men in middle life at the end of the so-called interregnum, a loyalty which

family by the now deceased Theodoric. Cassiodorus exhorts him to be even thus faithful to the young Athalaric.

BOOK IV. exhibited itself by keeping the heirs of the deceased monarch so long from the throne would hardly have been recommended for imitation under the circumstances of Athalaric's minority¹.

Another
explanation.

A more probable explanation of this curious story seems to be that the Ostrogoths may really for a short time have hesitated about filling up the place left vacant by the death of their beloved young hero-king, that this hesitation may have caused them to split up into factions (since then, as so often since, Teutonic royalty and national unity were convertible terms), that this time of confusion may have been purposely prolonged by their Hunnish over-lords, in order to keep them in an enfeebled and depressed condition, but that at length, and not till after the kinsmen of Thorismund had reached and almost passed the prime of life, they succeeded in re-establishing the Amal royalty on something like its old basis.

¹ I am the less disposed to accept this interpolated Gensimund as the explanation of the forty years' interval between Thorismund and Walamir, because Jordanes mentions a 'Gensimund' who seems to have been Thorismund's elder brother, and who probably died in the lifetime of their father Hunimund. He is speaking of the events immediately after the proclamation of Winithar (about 376-7): '*Sed cum tali libertate vix anni spatium imperasset, non est passus Balamber, rex Hunnorum, sed ascito ad se Gensimundo Hunnimundi magni filio, qui juramenti sui et fidei memor cum ampla parte Gothorum Hunnorum imperio subiacebat, renovatoque cum eo foedere super Vinitium duxit exercitum.*' Then follow the battles with Winithar. In two the latter is victorious, in the third he is defeated and killed. Hunimund succeeds, and after his long reign Thorismund; Gensimund having probably died before his father, though this is not expressly stated.

The change which strikes us in the revived kingship of the Ostrogoths, and which makes these last qualifying words necessary, is that now for the first time we find the kingly power *divided*. That splitting up of the kingdom between a whole family of brothers which we so often meet with in the case of the Franks, and which was also apparently usual with the Huns, had not till now been practised in either branch of the great Gothic nation. Now, however, we find three kings—brothers—standing at the head of their people, and it is natural to suppose that this division of power was encouraged if not commanded by their Hunnish over-lord in order to keep the nation in a state of weakness and dependence. The three brothers are *Walamir*¹, *Theudemir*², and *Widimir*, the eldest of whom, Walamir, had some sort of supremacy over his younger brothers, which is rather hinted at than explained in the flowery language of Jor-

BOOK IV.

CH. 1.

Division of the kingdom.

Walamir and his brothers.

¹ Photius (Bibliotheca, 340 a) has preserved for us a story that when Walamir was still in a subordinate position in Attila's court one of the courtiers saw him [when asleep?] breathing forth sparks, a prognostic of the future greatness of his house. 'This Walamir,' says Damascius the Neo-Platonist, from whom Photius is here extracting, 'was the father of that Theodoric who now wields the greatest power in the whole of Italy.' 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀττίλαν ἕνα ὄντα τὸν Βαλίμεριν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος ἀποπάλλειν σπινθήρας' ὁ δὲ ἦν ὁ Βαλίμερις Θεοδερῖχου πατὴρ ὃς νῦν τὸ μέγιστον ἔχει κράτος Ἰταλίας πάσης. As we shall see, Theodoric was really the nephew of Walamir, but the Byzantine writers, who knew of his coming to Constantinople as a pledge for Walamir's fidelity, could never get it out of their heads that he was his son.

² More properly Thiudan-mir.

BOOK IV. danes: 'Of which three brothers, Walamir, by
 CH. 1. succession to his relatives, ascended the throne,
 the Huns still keeping a general supremacy over
 them, as over all the surrounding nations. And a
 fair sight was it then to see the union of these
 brothers when the admirable Theudemir fought
 under the orders of his brother Walamir, while
 Walamir helped each of the other two by the
 honours with which he adorned them [?], and
 Widemir, though serving, remembered that he
 served his brother¹.'

Battle of
 the Cata-
 launian
 Plains, 451.

Whatever may have been their mutual rela-
 tions of supremacy and obedience, the three bro-
 thers served their Hunnish over-lord faithfully,
 followed his banners across the rivers and plains of
 Central Germany, and stood amid the 'crowd of
 kings²' who waited for his nod on the Catalaunian
 fields. It was a hard thing for them to fight
 against their Visigothic kindred, but they dared
 not to refuse the orders of Attila, 'for the compul-
 sion of the master,' thinks Jordanes, 'must be
 obeyed, even though he should order parricide³.'
 And on that great day, as we have before seen⁴,

¹ 'Ex quibus per successionem parentum Valamir in regnum
 conscendit, adhuc Hunnis eos inter alias gentes generaliter
 optinentibus. Eratque tunc in tribus his germanis contem-
 platio grata, quando mirabilis Thiudimer pro fratris Valamir
 militabat imperio, Valamir vero pro altero jubebat ornando
 (? juvabat ornando or jubebat ordinando). Vidimer servire
 fratribus aestimabat.' (Jord. de Reb. Get. xlviii.) It is im-
 possible to translate Jordanes without paraphrasing him.

² 'Turba regum,' Jord. xxxviii.

³ Ib. xlviii.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 143.

Walamir the Ostrogoth, trusty, good-tempered, open-hearted, shared with the Gepid Ardaric the honour of being admitted to the inmost counsels of the moody barbarian.

Then came, close upon Attila's death, the glorious day of Netad, when the German tribes which had deemed themselves compelled to do his bidding, even though the deed were parricide, faced his sons in fight, and broke the Hunnish yoke from off their necks. Thus were the Ostrogoths once more free after eighty years of subjection, and pressing, as we may suppose, westwards and southwards, to fill up the vacuum caused by the extrusion of the Huns, they came into possession of the once flourishing but now, no doubt, grievously wasted province of Pannonia. There must have been some recognition, however faint, of the Roman right to this province, some relation of covenanted service (*foederatio*) to be rendered to Valentinian III in return for its occupation, for Jordanes distinctly says that 'they preferred to seek lands from the Roman realm, rather than at their peril to invade the lands of others, and thus they *accepted* Pannonia . . . a country adorned with a great number of cities, from Sirmium at one end to Vindobona (Vienna) at the other.' At this time the relation of the Ostrogoths to the Empire was probably almost the same as that of their Visigothic brethren forty years earlier, when Walia obtained possession by treaty of the district of Septimania in Aquitaine.

As to the precise distribution of the Pannonian

BOOK IV.
CH. I.

Yoke of
the Huns
thrown off.
454.

Occupy
Pannonia
as Foede-
rati of the
Empire.

BOOK IV. territory between the three brothers, Jordanes
 CH. 1. does not give a very clear account. He says
 Geographi- that 'Walamir dwelt between the rivers Scar-
 cal position niunga and the Black Water, Theudemir next
 of the king- to Lake Pelso, and Widemir between the other
 doms of the two.' Unfortunately, it seems hopeless to attempt
 three bro- to identify the two rivers; and even as to the
 thers. lake, there is a certain degree of hesitation be-
 tween Neusiedler See in the north-west corner of
 Hungary, and Platten See, more than a hundred
 miles to the south-east of it. But till local anti-
 quaries shall have produced some decided argu-
 ments in favour of another hypothesis, we may
 perhaps safely assert that Walamir occupied the
 provinces of Sclavonia and Northern Croatia
 which lie between the rivers Drave and Save,
 that Theudemir ruled a broad belt of country
 between the Danube and the Platten See, and
 that the triangle between the Platten See, the
 Save and the Danube was allotted to the youngest
 brother Widemir¹.

Walamir's
 fight with
 the Huns.

Their old lords the Huns would not accept
 the verdict of the day of Netad as final, but still
 considered the Ostrogoths as absconding slaves.
 The sons of Attila came with a great host against
 Walamir, before his brothers were apprised of his

¹ It has been suggested that the Roman division between Pannonia Prima, Valeria, and Savia was adopted by the three brothers. The difficulty in the way of accepting this plausible hypothesis is that it renders it impossible to assign the Platten See to Theudemir and to place Widemir strictly between his brothers.

danger. He met them, we are told, with an army BOOK IV. greatly inferior in numbers, but so bravely with- CH. 1. stood their onset that only a comparatively small part of the invading army was able to escape to their new abodes near the mouth of the mighty stream which the Huns called in their own language Var, but which was just then beginning to be known in Europe by its modern name, the Dnieper¹. The news of this successful engagement came to the palace of Theudemir on the very day on which 'the boy of good omen,' THEODORIC, was Birth of Theodoric the Great, 454. born to him by his concubine, Erelieva. Notwithstanding the word which implies the inferior position of the mother of Theodoric, he was always treated as lawful heir to his father, and the widowed Erelieva seems to have maintained the position which would belong to Queen-mother in a half-civilised people. It is probable, therefore, that, though she was of inferior birth to her husband, the union between them was one sanctioned by the Church, somewhat resembling the morganatic marriages of modern Germany, but unlike those as conveying full right of inheritance to the offspring, at any rate where there was not a subsequent marriage to a woman of higher rank².

¹ 'Eas partes Scythiae peteret quas Danabri amnis fluenta praetermeant, quam linguâ suâ Hunni Var appellant.' Thus reads Mommsen instead of the old lections Danubii and Hunnivar (in one word). He remarks that the Hungarians to this day call a river *var*.

² Compare Freeman's remarks on 'Danish Marriages' (Norman

BOOK IV. Something must be said as to the *name* of the
 CH. 1. infant over whose arrival the household of Theu-
 Name of demir were rejoicing when the messenger of
 Theodoric. Walamir dashed into the court-yard of the palace
 and shouted 'Victory!' Like the two Visigoths,
 father and son, who reigned at Toulouse and
 fought with Attila, his name is indelibly written
 in the pages of history as *Theodoric*. This form
 of the name became current so early (we meet
 with it in the letters of Sidonius and the annals
 of Prosper), and obtained so wide a circulation,
 that it is useless now to seek to change it. But
 it is right to notice that the true form of the
 name, which is very fairly represented by the
*Theuderichus*¹ of the Byzantine historians, is
 THIUDA-REIKS², and signifies 'the people-ruler³.'
 It is a curious coincidence that the name is
 nearly equivalent in meaning to that of the
 Athenian orator Demosthenes⁴. One might have

Conquest, i. Note X): 'The essence of this kind of connexion seems to be that the woman is the man's wife, but that the man is not the woman's husband. He can evidently leave her at pleasure, but there is no recorded instance of her leaving him.'

¹ Θεωδέρικος (in Malchus, Procopius, Joannes Antiochenus, &c.). The form Theodericus with an *e* seems to be also almost invariably that which occurs in inscriptions.

² In Gothic characters **ΘΙΝΔΑΡΚΕΙΚΣ**.

³ On the termination -reiks, see vol. i. p. 274. This part of the name is common to it with Alaric, Genseric, and many more. Observe that *thiuda*=people, *thiudans*=king, a striking proof that the king was conceived of as representing the concentrated force of the nation.

⁴ The precise equivalent, I suppose, would be Democrates, or rather Laocrates, if there were such a name.

expected that the courtly and scholarly Cassio-BOOK IV.
dorus, who so faithfully served Theodoric as CH. 1.
secretary, would have availed himself of this re-
semblance in some one of the many harangues
which he prepared for his master to deliver to
the Roman Senate or to the envoys of foreign
courts¹.

But this is an anticipation. We return to ^{His child-}
the young Teuton, with the yellow locks falling ^{hood.}
to his shoulders, playing with his toy broad-sword
in his father's palace. There came a day, bitter
without doubt and memorable to the childish
heart, but fraught with future good, when he had
to leave his mother and his brother, the Danube
and the fresh air of the Pannonian highlands, his
folk and the old warriors' songs at night-fall about
the great deeds of his Amal forefathers, and had
to spend ten years of heart-ache, but also of keen
interest and thought-stimulating wonder, in the
purple presence-chamber of the Caesar at Con-
stantinople. The change came to pass on this
wise. When Theodoric was seven years old the ^{Gothic}
Ostrogothic brothers found that the tribute, which ^{grievances.}

¹ It may be asked, Why was the name Thiuda-reiks so early
and so persistently altered into Theodericus? I suspect that
the answer is contained in the words of Sidonius (Ep. ii. 1,
already quoted, vol. ii. p. 336), 'leges Theodosianas calcans,
Theodoricianasque proponens.' There is really no philological
connexion between *θεός* and *thiuda*, but the names of the
Gothic king and the Roman emperor were so much alike
already that, by a well-known process, popular speech made
the resemblance still closer.

BOOK IV. under the delicate euphemism of *Strenae*¹ (New
 CH. I. Year's presents) they had been taught to look for
 from the Emperor Leo², was falling into arrear.
 They sent envoys to Constantinople to enquire
 into the cause of the delay, and the report which
 these messengers brought back made the grievance
 greater.

There was a certain Gothic chieftain, the son
 of Triarius, (of whom there will be more to say
 hereafter,) at the Byzantine court. This man was
 a kinsman of the great Aspar, had perhaps been on
 friendly terms with Leo, when the future Emperor
 was only a sort of upper steward of their common
 patron³, and therefore he, coming from some quite
 inferior stock, with no claim to Amal ancestry,

¹ The word which still survives in the French *étrennes*. We
 are told by Suetonius (Tib. xxxiv) that Tiberius by one of his
 sumptuary laws forbade '*strenarum commercium, ne ultra*
Calendas Januarias exerceatur,' an edict as suitable for Paris
 as for Rome. The text of Jordanes (De Reb. Get. lii.) in
 Mommsen's edition is as follows: '*Consueta dum tardarent*
dona a principe Marciano quae ad instar strenuae acciperent.'
 Gruter has the merit of striking out the word '*gentis*' after
 '*strenuae*' which obscured the meaning of the passage. The
 variation between the forms *strenae*, *strenuae*, and *streniae* is
 partly explained by the statement in Symmachus' *Epistles*
 (x. 28) quoted in White and Riddell's *Dictionary* (s. v.).

² Jordanes says that *Marcian* promised and then withheld
 these gifts (see previous note), but this seems to me exceed-
 ingly improbable when we remember his steadfast refusal to
 pay tribute to Attila. Moreover, Marcian died at the beginning
 of 457, when Jordanes was certainly under three years old,
 instead of seven. If Leo was on the throne, the extraordinary
 favour shown to Theodoric the son of Triarius, the relation
 of Aspar, Leo's patron, becomes also more probable.

³ See vol. ii. p. 451.

was honoured with the friendship of the Romans BOOK IV.
and was punctually receiving his yearly honora- Ch. 1.
rium, while the Amals were left to poverty and
contempt. The insult was too exasperating; War.
they rushed to arms, and ravaged Moesia far
and wide¹. Then the Emperor repented of his
previous inattention to their demands. Peace
was arranged; the arrears of *strenae* were at
once handed over, and their punctual payment
in future was guaranteed. On their part the Treaty.
Ostrogoths must have undertaken to confine their
roving to the northern shores of the Danube;
and in pledge of their future fidelity the
eldest Amal heir, Theodoric, was to be sent
as a hostage to Constantinople. Theudemir de- Theodoric
sent to Con-
stantinople
as a host-
age.
murred to this proposal, that he should send his
boy to live among unsympathising strangers; but
when Walamir, who might have commanded as
his lord, besought him as a brother, and urged
the importance of ratifying a firm peace between
Goths and Romans, he consented. So was the
young prince brought to Constantinople, where,
being a handsome noble-spirited boy, he soon en-
deared himself greatly to the Emperor Leo.

After the conclusion of the treaty with the Em- Obscure
Wars.
pire, which the Goths appear to have observed faith-
fully during the ten years of Theodoric's tarriance

¹ Jordanes says, 'Illyricum pene totum discurrentes in praedā devastant.' But the *province* of Illyricum (Dalmatia &c.) at this time still belonged to the Western Empire. If he means the *prefecture*, 'pene totum' is one of his usual exaggerations.

BOOK IV. at Constantinople, there followed some obscure
 CH. 1. and uninteresting struggles with the barbarous
 nations on their northern and eastern borders. The Ostrogoths moved against the Sadages, an Alan or Hunnish tribe whose geographical position we need not trouble ourselves to discuss¹. Seeing them thus occupied, Dinzio, one of the sons of Attila who dwelt on their southern border, crossed the Danube with the warriors of four barbarous clans which still followed his standard² and besieged Bassiana³, once a Roman city of some importance, and containing a *gynaeceum*, or manufactory, in which a century before female slaves wove the purple robe of the Emperor and the linen tunics of his soldiery⁴. Now, the Hunnish chieftain, finding it inaccessible to his storming parties, drew a line of circumvallation round it and proceeded to plunder the surrounding country. While he was thus engaged, the Ostrogoths, who had turned back from their expedition against the Sadages, attacked the Huns and drove them

¹ 'Qui interiorem Pannoniam possidebant,' says Jordanes, (cap. liii). Zeuss (p. 709) corrects to 'inferiorem,' which certainly seems more probable. In cap. i. Jordanes places the Sadagarii (apparently the same tribe) in the Lesser Scythia and the Lower Moesia.

² Ultinzures, Angisciri, Bittugures, Bardores, according to Jordanes, who however has a genius for distorting proper names till they become hopelessly unrecognisable.

³ Bassiana is placed by Mommsen (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii.) on the Raab in Hungary, about twenty miles east of Stein-am-Anger.

⁴ *Notitia Occidentis*, cap. x.

forth from Pannonia, so utterly defeated, says BOOK IV. Jordanes, that the men of that nation ever after CH. 1. trembled before the Gothic name.

The next encounters of the Goths were with the Position of the Suevi. Suevi or Suavi, a portion of that wide-spread confederacy of peoples which presents to us some of the most difficult problems of German ethnology. Caesar tells us of his encounters with the Suevic Ariovistus on the Rhine. Tacitus makes them stretch across Germany from the sources of the Danube to the Vistula, and paints for us the splendid but short-lived empire erected by the Suevic Maroboduus in that which we now call Bohemia. In a previous part of this history we have seen the Suevi pressing, with the Vandals, across the Rhine into Gaul, across the Pyrenees into Spain, and founding a kingdom in the latter country, which, though eventually destroyed by the Visigoths, is thought by some to have contributed a trace of separate Suevic nationality to the modern Portuguese : and we have also seen the Suevic chieftain Ricimer arrayed as a Roman patrician, disposing of the destinies of Rome at his pleasure, setting up and dethroning emperors, marrying the daughter of Anthemius, and bidding Avitus assume the tonsure of a priest. The Suevi with whom we are now concerned dwelt in the south-west corner of Germany, in the region which is now known as the Black Forest, and away eastwards along the Upper Danube, perhaps as far as the river Lech. They were already

BOOK IV. mingled with the Alamanni of the mountains, a
 CH. I. process which was no doubt carried yet further when, some thirty years after the time now reached by us, Clovis overthrew the monarchy of the Alamanni, whom he drove remorselessly forth from all the lands north of the Neckar. The result of these migrations and alliances was the formation of the two great Duchies with which we are so familiar in the mediaeval history of Germany, Suabia, and Franconia. Suabia, which is a convertible term with Alamannia, represents the land left to the mingled Suevi and Alamanni; Franconia that occupied east of the Rhine by the intrusive Franks. The reason for calling attention to this geographical detail here is that in the passage of Jordanes which we have now before us we see most clearly the transition from the Suevi of Caesar and Tacitus to the *Swabia* from which the great Hohenstaufen Emperors took their ducal title¹

¹ The words of Jordanes (lv) are, 'Nam regio illa Suavorum ab oriente Baiaros [= Bajoarios] habet, ab occidente Francos, a meridie Burgundiones, a septentrione Thuringos. Quibus Suavis tunc juncti aderant etiam Alamanni ipsique Alpes erectos omnino regentes, unde nonnulla fluenta Danubium influunt nimio cum sonu vergentia.' The MSS. waver between Suavi and Suevi. The geography, as usual with Jordanes, is not quite clear. The Bavarians to the east are all right, but Franks on the west should have been Burgundians. The Burgundians on the south may be perhaps partly justified by the Burgundian occupation of a large part of Switzerland: but for the Thuringians on the north we should certainly substitute the Franks, since the territory which lay to the south of the

The war between Ostrogoths and Suevi arose in this wise. Hunimund king of the Suevi made a raid on some portion of the Roman territory¹, and in order to reach it had to cross the lands of the Ostrogoths, whose wandering cattle his people appropriated. Cattle, it need hardly be said, were emphatically the wealth of these early Teutonic communities²; and, just as the Fosters and Armstrongs of Northumberland resented and requited a cattle-lifting foray of the Kerrs or Scotts from the Scottish side of the Border, so did Walamir and his brothers watch their opportunity to repay the Sueves for their depredations. In the dead of

BOOK IV.

CH. 1.

War with
the Suevi.

Thuringians was now occupied by the Bavarians. In other words, the diagram suggested by Jordanes,

	Thuringians	
Franks	SUAVI	Bavarians
	Burgundians,	

must be replaced by this,

Burgundians	SUAVI	Bavarians
	Burgundians.	

I am inclined to think that 'the waterfall pouring into the *Danube*,' of which Jordanes speaks, is really meant for Schaffhausen. There is a source of confusion in the fact that *the Roman province of Savia*—the modern Slavonia between the Drave and Save—is called *Suavia* both by Cassiodorus (see Var. ix. 8) and his copyist Jordanes (liii, 'Dalmatia Suaviae vicina erat'). Of course this has nothing to do with Sueves or Swabians, though Jordanes confuses the two.

¹ Dalmatia, says Jordanes, but a march from the sources of the Danube across Pannonia to Dalmatia is highly improbable.

² *Faihu* (connected with the German 'vieh'), originally meaning 'cattle,' is used in Ulfilas also for wealth in the abstract, and the Aramaic Mammon is translated by *Faihu-thraithns*, a 'heap of treasure.'

BOOK IV. night they came upon them encamped by the lake

CH. 1.

Pelso, slew many with the sword, made a prisoner of King Hunimund, and reduced the bulk of his army to slavery. After a time, however, and apparently after the death of King Hunimund, Walamir effected some sort of reconciliation with his son, and sent him back with his followers to their native Suavia. The generous forgiveness, which Jordanes praises, was probably due to the difficulty of obtaining subsistence for the added multitude and the danger of enslaving so large a people, as martial probably as their conquerors.

The war renewed.

After a further lapse of time (we have now probably reached the year 470) the son of Hunimund, remembering the shame of the defeat rather than the boasted clemency of the conqueror, made a sudden assault upon the Ostrogoths, having leagued himself with their northern neighbours the Scyri. In the battle which ensued King Walamir was thrown from his horse and at once perished, pierced through and through with Suevic lances. Jordanes obscures the real issue of the contest by saying that in their rage for the loss of their king the Ostrogoths blotted out the name of the Scyri from under heaven: but it is evident that the true result of these operations was not only the death of Walamir but a severe defeat of his people.

Death of Walamir.

War with the Suevi and Scyri.

Theudemir, the next oldest brother, assumed the chief kingship and fought a bloody battle with the Suevi and Scyri, who had also confederated with

themselves the Gepidae, the Rugians, and a race designated by the conveniently vague term of BOOK IV.
CH. 1. Sarmatians¹. This great confederacy was defeated by the Ostrogoths, now prepared and united, upon the banks of the Bolia (perhaps the modern Ipoly). After the battle the field presented the usual spectacle of carnage on which Jordanes delights to dwell,—the wide waters of the marsh turned into a red sea, a lake of blood, and the plain for ten miles round covered with artificial hillocks formed from the unburied corpses of the slain. ‘The Goths saw this and rejoiced with unspeakable exultation, feeling that now at length their king Walamir was avenged.’

Another campaign followed, a winter campaign, in which Theudemir, crossing the frozen Danube, and marching perhaps through Moravia and Bohemia, took the Suevi and their confederate Alamanni in the rear, and, falling upon them thus unexpectedly, ‘conquered, wasted, and almost subdued them².’ Returning home the father’s heart was gladdened by the sight of his son Theodoric, Return of
Theodoric,
471 (?). now a youth of

¹ It is on this occasion that Jordanes mentions (liv) the names of Edica and Hunnulf, the *primates* of the Scyri. The names certainly resemble those of the father and brother of Odovacar, but I must repeat, more emphatically, the conviction previously expressed (vol. ii. p. 530, n. 1) that the resemblance is purely accidental, and that this passage throws no light on Odovacar’s parentage.

² ‘Devicit, vastavit et pene subegit’ is the curious expression of Jordanes. The ‘pene,’ which he has been truthful enough to express here, should probably be understood in connexion with many of the Gothic victories described by him.

BOOK IV. about seventeen years of age, versed doubtless in

CH. I.

Roman and courtly ways, if not imbued with Roman literature. The Emperor Leo had sent him back from the Bosphorus to his home with rich presents and high good-will. Scarcely had the young lion-cub reached the lair of his fathers, when he set forth again for his first taste of blood. Gathering to himself some of his father's guards and men of his nation who loved him, to the number of 10,000 men (a precise reproduction of the old Germanic *Comitatus* as described to us by Tacitus¹), he stole away unknown to his father, crossed the Danube where it formed the south-eastern frontier of Pannonia, and attacked Babai king of the Sarmatians, who was just then swelling with the pride of victory, having recently defeated Camundus², the Roman Duke of Upper Moesia, and taken from the Empire the important city of Singidunum (Belgrade). The young Ostrogoth conquered, wrested Singidunum from the Sarmatian, did not restore it to his Roman patrons, but kept it under his own sway, and returned with his joyous *Comitatus* to his father, having furnished another subject for song to the Gothic minstrels. Either at this time, or else on his return from Constantinople, he seems to have been hailed by his nation as king, of course in subordination to his

His defeat
of the Sar-
matians.

¹ 'Haec dignitas, hae vires: magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari in pace decus, in bello praesidium.' Tacitus, *Germania*, xiii.

² Jordanes is responsible for this name. If it was really borne by a Roman general, he was no doubt of barbarian origin.

father and uncle. Thirty years later (500), when he was lord of Italy, Dalmatia and Rhaetia, he rode through the streets of Rome celebrating the *tricennialia* of this, his accession to the Gothic throne¹.

BOOK IV.
CH. I.

If the Emperor Leo had thought to attach the Ostrogoths firmly to the Empire by his friendly treatment of the young Theodoric, he was disappointed. A foretaste of that which was to come had been afforded by the retention of the Roman city of Singidunum in Gothic hands. Next year (not many months before the death of Leo) the Ostrogoths, who had for some time been coming to the conclusion that Pannonia was too strait for them, and who were hindered, perhaps by the increasing strength and solidity of the Rugian monarchy, from enriching themselves as they wished at the expense of their barbarian neighbours, clamoured to be led forth to war; whither they heeded not, but it was evidently understood that it must be war against some part of the Empire. Theudemir called his brother into council. It was decided that Widemir, as the weaker of the two, should invade Italy, then recently bereft of the

Breach
with the
Empire. ✓

¹ It occurs to me that this must be the meaning of the words of the Anon. Valesii (§ 67), 'Per tricennalem triumphans populo ingressus palatium.' The only difficulty is, that as that triumphal entry into Rome took place in A.D. 500, we must date Theodoric's accession not later than 471. But his birth could not be earlier than 454, and Jordanes states that he was eight years old when sent to Constantinople and resided there ten years, which would bring us to 472. It is easy to understand, however, that these are round numbers, and that Theodoric may really have returned and been proclaimed king in 471.

BOOK IV. stout heart of the unscrupulous Ricimer, and, under
 CH. 1. the rule of the feeble Glycerius, apparently sinking
 into a mere appanage of Burgundy. The issue of
 this invasion has been already told¹. Widemir
 died in Italy, and his son and namesake led his
 army into Gaul, where, waiving apparently his
 royal dignity, he united his forces with those of
 Euric, king of the Visigoths.

Invasion
 of Moesia
 and Mace-
 donia.

To Theudemir, as the stronger of the two
 brothers, was assigned the task of attacking the
 Eastern Empire. He crossed the Save with a
 formidable host, which imposed neutrality on the
 Sarmatian borderers. Making his son's new con-
 quest, Belgrade, his base of operations, he marched
 a hundred miles up the valley of the Morava to
 Naissus, now the Servian city of Nisch, where he
 took up his headquarters. The young Theodoric,
 with two Gothic counts, probably old and wary
 officers, Astat and Invilia, as his counsellors, was
 sent on a rapid southward march. He pushed up
 the Morava valley for another hundred miles to
 the source of that river, crossed the western ridge
 of the Balkans, and descended by the valley of the
 Axios (*Vardar*), having apparently, in order to
 circumvent the foe, deviated somewhat from the
 beaten track and traversed some passes previously
 deemed inaccessible. Stobi and Heraclea (*Monastir*)
 in Macedonia, possibly even Larissa in Thessaly²,

¹ Vol. ii. p. 493.

² Jordanes asserts this, but there may be some confusion
 with Theodoric's later operations in Thessaly.

fell before him, and yielded a rich booty to his followers. Theudemir, apprised of these brilliant successes of his son, quitted his camp at Naissus and moved forward with the main body of his troops to Thessalonica. That terrible push¹ from Vienna to Salonica, which the diplomacy of our days is so busy with, alternately affirming and denying that Austria contemplates its accomplishment, was actually made, with brisk efficiency, by Theudemir and his son in the spring of 473.

BOOK IV.
CH. I.

The Patrician Hilarianus who commanded in Thessalonica, seeing the siege of that city commenced by the barbarians, a wall of circumvallation built, and every sign that they were likely to succeed, opened negotiations with Theudemir. Handsome presents were given to the barbarian chiefs, the old figment of a covenant (*foedus*) between the Empire and her brave Gothic allies was furbished up again; the latter promised to abstain from further ravage, and received in return fertile lands and a group of cities at the head of the Aegean, among which figure the well-known names of Pella, Methone, Pydna, and Berca, for their possession.

The *Foedus*
renewed.

Shortly after these events Theudemir, the last of the three Amal brethren, died, and his eldest son Theodoric, now twenty years of age, whom he had designated as his heir in the presence of a general assembly of the Goths, succeeded to the sole kingship. By some change, the cause and the

Death of
Theu-
demir,
474 (C).

¹ 'Der Stoss sudwärts' of German politics.

BOOK IV. date of which are entirely hidden from us, the
CH. 1. settlements of the nation were transferred from
the head of the Aegean to the western shore of
the Black Sea, where in the region now called
the Dobrudscha, then known as the Roman pro-
vince of Scythia, the native land of Alaric and
Aetius, we find them settled in the year 478,
when we next cross the path of Theodoric.

NOTE A. ON THE ROUTE OF THE OSTROGOTHIC ARMY
AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN MACEDONIA.

THE sites of the towns mentioned in the 56th chapter of Jordanes are discussed by Mommsen, C. I. L. iii. p. 268, and in Jordanes, p. 132. NOTE A.

About *Naissus* (Nisch) there is no doubt. *Castra Herculis*, the next place mentioned by Jordanes, is fixed by the Itineraries 14 miles from Naissus, perhaps at the point where a road to Scupi branched off from that to Scodra.

The site of *Ulpiana* is very doubtful. Mommsen seems to think it is generally placed too far south, and that it was really the first stage from *Castra Herculis* on the road to Scupi.

Stobi is recovered by modern editors with the help of the Palatine MSS. from the utter confusion of the old text. This had, 'Qui venientes, tam eam, *quam et opes* mox in deditionem acceperunt.' The Palatine MSS. read 'quam mestobis.' Closs proposed and Mommsen reads 'quam Stobis.' The modern representation of Stobi is believed to be the village of Czerna Gratzko, near the confluence of the Czerna and Vardar (Erigon and Axios). It was an important place as, here, four roads met, from Scupi, Sardica, Heraclea, and Thessalonica. (See Tozer's 'Highlands of Turkey,' i. 376.)

As for the towns granted to the Goths the amended text of Jordanes runs thus:—

'Loca [Gothis] jam sponte, quae incoherent, tradidit, id est Cerru, Pellas, Europa, Mediana, Petina, Bereu et alia quae Sium vocatur' (cap. lvi).

These are identified by Mommsen as

- (1) Cyrrhus.
- (2) Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great.
- (3) Europus.

NOTE A.

(4) Methone.

(5) Pydna, scene of the defeat of Perseus B.C. 168.

(6) Berea, mentioned in Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 10.

(7) For Sium he would read Dium, in the Thermaic Gulf.

These towns are all situated in Macedonia Prima near the N. W. angle of the Aegean Sea, and occupy a block of territory perhaps 60 miles long by 30 wide.

The chief part of these identifications must be right. But seeing that the Antonine Itinerary (224-225) gives us both *Beroe* and *Cium* on the eastern shore of the Lower Danube, in that very province of Scythia where we next meet with Theodoric's allotment, I am disposed to suggest that Jordanes, misled perhaps by the resemblance between Berea and Beroe, has run two lists into one, and that the words 'Bereu et alia quae Sium vocatur' belonged in Cassiodorus to the later settlement of the Goths, that in the Dobrudscha, which he probably described here but which Jordanes has omitted.

It is always safe to suspect a blunder in Jordanes, and we must remember that according to his own account all his notes from Cassiodorus had to be completed in three days.



CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF ZENO.

Authorities.

Sources:—

MALCHUS (see vol. ii. p. 517) lived probably about the end of the fifth century. He came from Philadelphia in Palestine to Constantinople, where he taught as a Sophist, and attained considerable eminence as a rhetorician. Unlike many of his fellow historians, he was a professed Christian. His history called *Byzantiaca*, in seven books, was read by Photius, who praises its purity of diction and elevation of style, and calls it the model of what a history ought to be. The portion of it with which Photius was acquainted reached from the death of Leo I (thus forming a continuation of the work of Priscus) to the death of Nepos, Emperor of the West (474–480): but there is reason to believe that the entire work reached from the reign of Constantine the Great to that of Anastasius (306–491). Unfortunately we know it only by a very short compendium in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, by a few biographical notices extracted from it by Suidas, and by the excerpts made by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his ‘History of Embassies,’ which are extremely valuable and interesting, but break off abruptly as soon as the story of each particular embassy is finished.

CANDIDUS the Isaurian, born in that part of Isauria which was called the Rugged (*Τραχεία* = *Aspera*), came to Constantinople and obtained employment as a notary or registrar (*ὑπογραφεύς*) at the time when the fortunes of his countrymen were in the ascendant. He probably left the

BOOK IV. capital at the time of the general emigration of the
 CH. 2.

Isaurians on the death of Zeno (491). He was a Christian and an adherent of the council of Chalcedon. He wrote, probably soon after 491, the history of the times from the accession of Leo to that of Anastasius (457-491). This work would have been of great value, as giving the Isaurian version of the acts of Zeno and his countrymen, but unfortunately we possess it only in the Compendium (a tolerably full one) inserted by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*. Photius says that the style of this author is wanting in historic composure, that he uses poetical phrases without taste and like a very young writer, and that, altogether, the effect is harsh, dithyrambic, and unpleasing. This description seems to bring before us an excited party-pamphlet written by an imperfectly educated Asiatic Highlander, after the fall of himself and his party from power. To the amusement of his critic he derives the name of his country, Isauria, from Esau.

EUSTATHIUS of Epiphania in Syria wrote a history of the events from the beginning of time down to the 12th year of Anastasius (502), shortly after which date he died. This history is known to us almost entirely by the extracts made from it by EVAGRIUS the ecclesiastical historian, who himself lived between 536 and 600. He says that Eustathius wrote 'very elegantly' (*μετὰ τῆς ἐς ἄγαν κομψείας*). Evagrius is also himself an authority of some importance, even where he does not professedly base himself upon Eustathius.

(These three authors are here quoted, as from Müller's '*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*,' vol. iv. (Paris, 1868). They are also contained in the Bonn edition of the *Byzantine Historians*.)

THEODORUS LECTOR compiled an ecclesiastical history reaching from the times of Constantine to those of Justinian. He was probably a contemporary of the latter emperor, and perhaps survived till the reign of Justin II (565-578). His work is chiefly known to us by extracts made by Nicephorus Callistus (14th cent.), also by a few fragments preserved by Joannes Damascenus (8th cent.) and others.

There is reason to think that Theophanes, and perhaps other historians, borrowed largely from him. Notwithstanding the fragmentary condition in which his works have come down to us, he must be considered one of our best authorities for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius.

BOOK IV.
CH. 2.

(Compare the excellent article on this writer in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.' Considering the commonness of the name Theodore, it does not appear necessary to accept the suggestion there made that he is the same Theodore who saw the fall of a statue in the reign of Philippicus (711-713) and thus to make him an authority only of the eighth century).

JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS flourished probably in the middle of the seventh century, say between 610 and 650, and composed a history reaching from the mythological period to the reign of the emperor Phocas (602-610), of which we possess some fragments. In the earlier portions he compiles extensively from Dion, Eutropius, and other well-known authors. 'For the reign of Zeno,' as C. Müller remarks (from whose edition quotations are here made), 'he has followed some author, whom we know not, of excellent quality, and the fragments in Joannes relating to this reign are of the greatest importance.' He seems to have been in his turn copied from by Joannes *Malalas*, also of Antioch, who flourished about 700, and with whom he has been sometimes confused.

JOANNES LYDUS, an officer in the law-courts of Justinian, writing about 553, gives us an unfavourable estimate of Zeno's character.

THEOPHANES (758-816) and the PASCHAL (or ALEXANDRIAN) CHRONICLE (about 630) furnish as usual some curious details, probably copied from contemporary authors, but which have to be used with caution on account of their late date.

The only chroniclers in Roncalli's collection who are of any service to us here are COMES MARCELLINUS (about 534) and VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS (who died in 569).

BOOK IV. *Guides:—*

CH. 2.

It will be seen from the above list that we have a good deal of contemporary or nearly contemporary information for this period, but that it has reached us in a very fragmentary state. This makes it difficult to construct a continuous narrative, and is probably one reason why the reign of Zeno has been so slightly noticed, except by ecclesiastical historians. The only guide whom I have found of much value is the ever-patient Tillemont, whose accurate digest of history is especially helpful when we have to deal with such materials as these. There is also a very good article on Illus, by J. C. Means, in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.'

CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF ZENO.

CONSULS ¹ .	EVENTS.	DATE.
LEO JUNIOR. .	Leo I died (3 Feb.). Zeno proclaimed Emperor (9 Feb.). Leo II died (Nov.)	474
ZENO (II) . .	Usurpation of Basiliscus. Flight of Zeno (Clinton says in November; but how reconcile this with the statement of Joan. Ant. that Zeno's flight was on the ninth day of his consulship?).	475
BASILISCUS (II), ARMATUS (or Harmatius).	(Deposition of Romulus Augustulus).	476
POST CONSULA- TUM BASILISCI ET ARMATI.	Fall of Basiliscus (July). Embassies from Rome.	477
ILLUS	The two Theodorics coalesce against the Empire.	478

¹ Those who represented the West are marked with W.

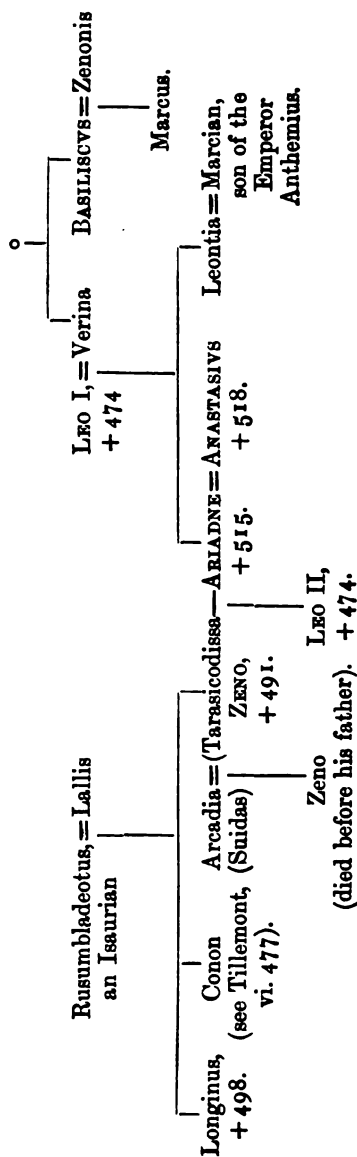
Chronological Table.

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CONSULS.	EVENTS.	DATE. BOOK IV.
ZENO (III) . .	Theodoric, son of Triarius, enters Zeno's service. Revolt of Marcian. Campaign of Theodoric the Amal in Epirus Nova.	479 <u>CH. 2.</u>
BASILIVS JUNIOR. W.	Earthquake at Constantinople (24 Sep.).	480
PLACIDUS . .	Deaths of Theodoric son of Triarius, and of Sabinianus.	481
TROCONDUS AND SEVERINUS.	Theodoric the Amal ravages Thessaly and Macedonia. The Henoticon (according to Clinton in 483).	482
FAUSTUS. W. .	Theodoric made <i>Magister Militiæ Præsentalis</i> .	483
THEODORICUS AND VENAN- TIUS. W.	Revolt of Illus and Verina. Leontius proclaimed emperor. Enters Antioch (27 June).	484
Q. AURELIUS SYMMACHUS. W.	Release of Longinus by Illus after ten years' captivity .	485
DECIUS AND LONGINUS.	486
FL. BOETHIUS. W.	Theodoric approaches Constantinople with his army . .	487
DYNAMIUS AND SIFIDIUS.	Theodoric starts for Italy. Illus and Leontius taken and beheaded	488
ANICIUS PROBI- NUS (W.) AND EUSEBIUS.	489
LONGINUS (II) AND FAUSTUS. W.	Zeno puts Pelagius to death. Flight of Arcadius.	490
OLYBRIUS . .	Death of Zeno (9 April). Accession of Anastasius.	491

(Isaurian Rebellion, 492-497.)

GENEALOGY OF ZENO.



We have now followed the fortunes of the young Ostrogoth down to the time when he settled as a Gothic *foederatus* in the home provinces of the Eastern Empire. In order to understand his subsequent career, and even in order rightly to appreciate the scanty notices of his future rival, Odovacar, as ruler of Italy, we must grasp the connection of events in that city which was now virtually the capital of the world, the New Rome beside the Thracian Bosphorus; we must, at the cost of some little repetition, trace the outline of the reign of the Emperor Zeno.

This Emperor, as the reader may remember, bore at first the barbarous name and style of Tarasicodissa, the son of Rusumbladeotus, a name which he changed to Zeno, in memory of one of his countrymen who a generation previously had climbed up to greatness in the Roman State¹. He came from Isauria, that wild upland region on the northern skirts of Mount Taurus, between Cilicia and Phrygia, which Paul and Barnabas traversed in their missionary journey to Derbe and Lystra, but which the Roman legionary for three centuries after Christ found it difficult to penetrate and impossible to subdue. The part which this obscure mountainous corner of Asia Minor played in the politics of the Lower Empire is truly extraordinary.

¹ τὴν προσηγορίαν προσκτησάμενον ἔκ τινος παρα τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐς μέγα κλέος ἐληλυθότος, οὕτω προσάγορευομένου (Evagrius, ii. 15). According to Tillemont's probable conjecture this was Flavius Zeno, the Isaurian, Magister Militum in Oriente, and Consul in 448. (Compare vol. ii. pp. 100 and 104.)

BOOK IV. We shall find that Zeno and his Isaurian country-
CH. 2.

Leo III
 and Con-
 stantine V,
 716-775.

men were, for near twenty years, the dreaded and hated lords of Constantinople. They depart and disappear for a time, but, two centuries later, another Isaurian, the hero-emperor Leo III, ascends the throne, commences and all but carries through a mighty religious reformation (the Iconoclastic), and transmits his throne to a son whose reign with his own makes up a period of sixty years, the most glorious and the most successful in the whole later history of the Roman Empire. The peculiar position thus occupied by the Isaurians is no doubt explained by the fact that these tameless mountaineers had in great measure preserved their freedom. They had not passed, like the wealthier inhabitants of the plains, between the mill-stones of the Byzantine despotism. Their country was the Switzerland of the Eastern Empire.

Circum-
 stances of
 Zeno's ac-
 cession.

3 Feb. 474.

From the ranks of the Isaurian adventurers who made their way to the capital the Emperor Leo, who needed all the support which he could obtain against the party of the domineering Aspar, selected Tarasicodissa, who was perhaps the best-born among them, and bestowed upon him in marriage his elder daughter Ariadne. At the death of Leo, his grandchild, the younger Leo, a child of seven years old, son of Zeno and Ariadne, already associated with his grandfather in the Empire and proclaimed consul for the year, succeeded without opposition to the throne. Naturally his reign would have implied for some years to come the regency of

his parents; but, to make sure, Ariadne instructed her child, when his father came to make obeisance before him in the Hippodrome, to place on his head the imperial diadem. The precaution was a wise one, for in nine months the child-emperor died. The charge brought against Zeno by one writer, distant from the scene¹, of having procured the death of his own child, must be dismissed as unworthy of belief, since none of the Greek writers, not even those who canvass his actions the most bitterly, have dared to insinuate it.

It cannot be said that the new Emperor did anything to justify his predecessor's selection of him as a son-in-law. He was quite incapable in the field, 'not only a coward but a wretch, an emperor who could not bear even the picture of a battle,' says one of our authorities². This author proceeds to say that Zeno's only notion of conquest was by buying off his foes, for which purpose he laid upon his subordinates the duty of raising as much money as possible by exactions and confiscations. Another historian³ gives a somewhat different account of the cause of Zeno's financial misgovernment. He says that this Emperor was not so cruel, passionate, or avaricious as his predecessor, but that he was ambitious and vain, with no real knowledge of affairs nor formed habits of business. He was

¹ Victor Tunnunensis.

² Joannes Lydus; writing, it is true, about 550 or some sixty years after the death of Zeno, but all the less likely to have any personal prejudice against him.

³ Malchus (ap. Müller, iv. 118).

BOOK IV.
Ch. 2.

thus exposed to endless peculation on the part of the officials of his exchequer, and at the same time squandered with lavish hand the carefully-hoarded treasures of his father-in-law among his greedy Isaurian friends. This incapacity for business, again, made him dependent on his underlings, especially on one Sebastian, who was Praetorian Prefect during a large part of his reign¹, and who possessed an extraordinary influence over his master. Like the eunuch Eutropius, ninety years before, Sebastian put up offices and governments for sale as in a market, and suffered no business to be transacted in the palace upon which he did not levy his toll². Some part of the gain of this unblushing traffic he graciously shared with the Emperor, but if the latter had bestowed an office on one of his own friends, the favourite would insist on buying it at a small price from the recipient, that he might re-sell it at a high figure to one of the attenders of his auction-mart.

Frequent
rebellions
against
him.

An Emperor thus governing, of discreditable private character³ and strengthened by no deep

¹ In 475, 480, and 484, and probably in most of the intervening years; Tillemont, vi. 478.

² We have in Malchus (p. 120) an interesting note of the tariff of prices at this time: 'The governor of Egypt (Praefectus Augustalis?), who had previously obtained his commission for something under 50 lbs. of gold (£2,000), now had to pay 500 (£20,000) on account of the increased prosperity of the province.'

³ Evagrius says (iii. 1) that Zeno, on becoming sole emperor, abandoned himself to every kind of unlawful and disgraceful

roots of ancestral claim to the loyalty of his sub-^{BOOK IV.}
jects, was sure to find his right to rule challenged ^{CH. 2.}
by usurpers; and in fact the history of the reign of
Zeno is chiefly a history of the rebellions against
him. The course of these rebellions is dreadfully
similar. With a certain tenacity of purpose, which
perhaps explains Leo's selection of him, Zeno gene-
rally succeeds in holding on to power. Some popular
officer delivers him from the rival of the moment,
and becomes for the time 'the man whom the king
delighteth to honour.' Then he too falls under sus-
picion, the Emperor or Empress intrigues against
his life; he is forced to make himself the mouth-
piece of the popular discontent. Another rebellion
and another deliverance by a champion who is
doomed to experience the imperial ingratitude, and
so the dismal round recommences. Add to the
already enumerated causes of discontent the fires,
never long smouldering in this reign, of religious
bigotry, the incessant battle-cries, 'Nestorian,'
'Eutychian,' 'The Council of Chalcedon,' 'The
Council of Nicaea;' add also the intrigues of
Verina, the Emperor's mother-in-law, one of the
most odious women who ever stepped inside the
purple chamber at Constantinople, and the reader
will have some idea of the events which formed
the staple of the reign of Zeno.

The rebellion of Basiliscus was the first of the

pleasure, and that he scorned to practise any concealment of
his vices, appearing to think that there was something grand
and emperor-like in parading his immorality before the public.

BOOK IV. series¹. It was on the ninth day after his accession to the office of Consul, when Zeno was sitting in the Hippodrome presiding over the games, that he received a message from his mother-in-law desiring him to come to her with all speed. He obeyed, and when he reached her chamber, Verina informed him that the generals, the senate, the people, all were united in the resolution to depose him, and that his only safety was in flight. Without a struggle he appears to have given up the prize of empire, took with him his wife Ariadne and his mother Lallis, and such of the imperial treasures as he could pile upon his horses and mules, and stole away by night accompanied by many of his Isaurian fellow-countrymen. Still wearing the rich imperial robes in which he had presided in the Hippodrome, he crossed the Bosphorus to Chalcedon, and was soon in the heart of Asia Minor. Thus did Basiliscus, Verina's brother, find himself at length in possession of the diadem which he had coveted with an insane desire². He associated his son Marcus with him in the empire, and in their joint names issued edicts for the regulation of Church affairs³. These edicts were to the

CH. 2.
Usurpation
of Basilis-
cus,
475-477.

¹ ii. 537-8.

² ii. 454.

³ Compare the circular letters in Evagrius, iii. 4 and 7: 'The Emperor Caesar Basiliscus, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, and Marcus the most illustrious Caesar, to Timotheus (Solophaciolus) archbishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, most reverend and blessed of God.' In this circular he anathematises, not only Nestorius, but also 'the so-called *tome* of Leo [Pope Leo I], and all things

utmost extent of his power in the interests of the BOOK IV.
 Monophysite party, of which he, and still more his CH. 2.
 wife Zenonis¹, were fanatical adherents. Peter the
 Fuller was reinstated at Antioch, Timothy the
 Weasel at Alexandria. Everywhere the opponents
 of the decrees of Chalcedon began to take heart,
 and its adherents, except the dauntless Acacius of
 Constantinople, began to despond.

But Basiliscus, raised to the throne by female Harmatius.
 influence and intrigue, was threatened by dangers
 from the same source. Verina had a lover, Patri-
 cius, upon whom, rather than upon Basiliscus, she
 had hoped that the choice of the insurgents would
 have fallen, but who was put to death by the new
 emperor. Zenonis, who was a woman of great
 beauty, had also a lover, the nephew of her hus-
 band, the handsome and effeminate Harmatius².
 This man, who knew more about the palaestra and
 the hair-dresser's shop than about the art of war,
 was, by the influence of his paramour, promoted to
 the high office of Magister Militum in Thrace. He 476.
 also shared the honours of the consulship with
 Basiliscus. Puffed up with wealth and official im-
 said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon' the Nicene
 symbol. Afterwards, evidently finding the influence of Acacius,
 Patriarch of Constantinople. too strong for him, he published
 another circular, containing an abject withdrawal of the first,
 and anathematising not only Nestorius but also *Eutyches* (the
 Monophysite) and every other heresy.

¹ Was this lady a sister of Zeno? No allusion is made to any
 relationship between them.

² His name is spelt by Suidas both Harmatus and Harmatius.
 He is called by the chroniclers (who are extremely loose in
 their use and disuse of the aspirate) *Armatius*.

BOOK IV. portance, he began to imagine himself a great
 CH. 2. soldier, and rode about the streets of the capital, aping in arms and accoutrements the great Achilles. The populace followed him with their acclamations, and called him the new Pyrrhus, in allusion to his fresh pink-coloured complexion. But many doubtless thought, what the historian could safely write, that the new hero was more like Paris than Pyrrhus¹.

Zeno in his
 exile.

Meanwhile the dethroned Emperor Zeno had betaken himself to his native Isauria, and there maintained a feeble resistance to his rival. In the course of his wanderings he came to a castle situated upon a hill, and enquired the name of this place of refuge. When told that it was called (by a curious chance) Constantinople, he gave a deep sigh and said, 'Verily man is God's plaything. The prophets foretold that the month of July should see me lodged in Constantinople, and so indeed I am, in this little hill-side fort of a Constantinople, instead of in my royal city.' Brighter days, however, were at hand for the fugitive as the second July of his exile drew near. Illus and Trocundus², the generals of Basiliscus who had been for some time besieging him, perhaps in the mountain fortress just referred to, changed sides

477.

¹ This curious little tirade against Harmatius, preserved by Suidas, is believed by Niebuhr to be from the pen of Malchus (see remarks in Müller, iv. 117).

² Joannes Antiochenus (Müller, iv. 619) and Marcellinus (Roncalli, ii. 300) concur in giving this form of the name. Theophanes (p. 106, Paris ed.) gives it as Procundus.

and openly espoused his cause. The money and the promises of Zeno had no doubt some share in producing this result; but they had some excuse for their defection in the fact that letters had been received from the Senate at Constantinople informing the generals that the profligacy and folly of Basiliscus had become absolutely unbearable, and inviting them to aid in his deposition¹. In fact, what with political discontent and what with theological strife, the capital was almost in a state of revolution. Acacius had draped the altar and the clergy in black. Daniel, the greatest of the Stylitae, had descended from his column to harangue and muster the people. A vast multitude of men, women, and children had assembled at the gates of the cathedral to protest against the heretical doings of the Emperor. There was a talk of burning down the city, from which Basiliscus withdrew in terror, but Daniel and the monk Olympius followed him to his retreat, and forced him to listen to their passionate invectives².

Liberated from his long blockade and strengthened by his new allies, Zeno now set forth for the capital. Basiliscus sent Harmatius to meet the foe, having first exacted from him, possibly on account of some rumours of his doubtful loyalty, an oath 'by his holy baptism³' that he would not

Return of
Zeno.

¹ Theophanes (p. 106).

² Theodorus Lector, i. 32, 33, p. 182, ed. Migne.

³ Ὁρκίσας αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα μὴ προδοῦναι (Theoph. pp. 106-7). Does this adjuration explain the process by which the term *sacramentum* obtained its ecclesiastical signification?

BOOK IV. betray him. Harmatius took with him not only
CH. 2. the troops which ordinarily followed the standard of the Magister Militum in Thrace, but also a levy, probably a hasty levy, from the citizens of Constantinople¹. This fact, together with the statement that a terrible massacre of Isaurians took place at the time of the expulsion of Zeno², seems to indicate that the animosity against the Asiatic highlanders was especially bitter among the mob of the capital.

Treachery
 of Harmatius.

However, neither his baptismal oath nor the rancour of his civic followers availed to keep Harmatius from entering into a transaction with the dethroned emperor, his willingness for which was doubtless increased by the consciousness of danger from the discovery of his intrigue with Zenonis. He advanced to Nicaea, where Zeno and the two generals were quartered. Great terror was at first caused in the Isaurian army by his approach. Zeno was on the point of retreating, but Illus undertook and accomplished the delicate task of detaching Harmatius from his fidelity to his uncle. The terms were high: the rank of Magister Militum Praesentalis (commander of the household troops, ranking above the other Magister Militum) for life, and the dignity of Caesar for his son Basiliscus, which assured to that son the succession to the

¹ We have only the somewhat doubtful authority of Theophanes for this statement: *Μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.*

² Candidus the Isaurian (ap. Müller, iv. 136).

empire on Zeno's death ¹. The bargain being con- BOOK IV.
cluded, the two armies, now united, marched against CH. 2.
Constantinople.

Basiliscus, when he heard that his rival was accepted as lawful emperor by the senate, the people, and even by the arch-intriguer Verina, saw that the game was hopeless, and took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, to which he had betaken himself nine years before on the failure of the Carthaginian expedition ². Leaving his crown on the holy table, as a sign that he renounced the sovereignty, he passed on with his wife and children into the baptistery, and there sought for shelter. Not even in the hour of her downfall can the ecclesiastical chroniclers forbear to triumph over the heretical Empress ³, thus compelled to seek the shelter of the Church whose power she had dared to cope with. The patriarch Acacius came and upbraided the fallen Emperor with the impious innovations which he, the Eutychian, had sought to introduce into the Christian Church. According to Procopius ⁴ he actually delivered the suppliant into the hands of his rival; but this is so contrary to the character of the man and to the religious instincts of the

¹ Zeno's own son Zeno, the offspring of his first marriage, a youth of insufferable arrogance and viciousness, whose character was ruined by the flatteries of courtiers, died miserably in consequence of his excesses, probably before his father's banishment (Malchus, p. 118).

² Vol. ii. p. 458.

³ Τῇ κακοδόξῳ αὐτοῦ γυναικί (Theoph. p. 107).

⁴ De Bello Vandalico, i. 7.

BOOK IV. age, that we may safely reject such a story.
CH. 2.

Doubtless Acacius was a powerful agent, probably the most powerful in the counter-revolution which hurled Basiliscus from his throne. Probably also he was the medium of the negotiations which resulted in the fugitive's surrender of himself to his rival; but this is a different matter from the accusation that with his own hands he delivered him over, a suppliant at the Church's altar, to his enemy.

Fate of
 Basiliscus.

'The most religious emperor Zeno,' says the Paschal Chronicle, 'then gave orders that the curtain should be drawn over the amphitheatre. He mounted to his seat, exhibited the games of the circus to the citizens, and received their acclamations. Then he sent to the Great Church, stripped all the emblems of imperial dignity from the fallen Emperor, his wife and children, and induced them to come forth by a promise "that their heads should be safe ¹." Zeno then sent him away and those with him to the camp of Limnae ² in Cappadocia. And they were thrust into one tower of the camp, and the gate was built up, and the tower and the camp itself were guarded by soldiers and by a great multitude of Isaurians. And thus Basiliscus himself and his wife and children, perishing

¹ Candidus (Müller, iv. 136) makes Harmatius the deceiver of Basiliscus in this negotiation for his surrender.

² Situation not identified. According to others, Cucusus, the scene of Chrysostom's exile (Theophanes), or Sasemac (?) (Vict. Tunnun.). Certainly in Cappadocia, and probably some place high up on the sides of Anti-Taurus.

by hunger, gave up their lives and were buried in the same tower of Limnae.' BOOK IV.
CH. 2

Procopius and some other historians¹ say that the banishment was in the depth of winter, that the unhappy exiles were insufficiently supplied with clothing as well as food, and that cold worked together with hunger for their destruction. Thus was Dante's terrible story of Ugolino and his children in the *Torre del Fame* anticipated by eight hundred years. That deed of horror and of perfidy was perpetrated by an archbishop², this by an emperor, whom, in the very act of describing his wickedness, the chronicler terms 'most religious³'; because he was not tainted with the heresy either of Nestorius or of Eutyches.

Thus had Harmatius surrendered his uncle and his paramour to a death of horror. He had not long to wait for his reward, in either sense. He received the post of *Magister Praesentalis*, his son was proclaimed Caesar, had a royal seat prepared for him by the side of the Emperor, and joined in distributing the prizes to the charioteers. Soon, however, Zeno began to reflect that a man who had displayed so much perfidy to his kinsman and benefactor, and had violated his solemn baptismal oath, was not likely to serve *him* more faithfully, when his son, the young Caesar, should have

¹ Anonymus Valesii and Jordanes.

² Ruggieri (*Inferno*, xxxiii. 14). Here too there was the element of a promise violated in its spirit.

³ 'Ο δὲ θεϊότατος Ζήνων (Chron. Pasch. 835, ed. Migne).

BOOK IV. grown to manhood. He argued with himself
 CH. 2.

that he had kept all his promises to his deliverer. *Magister Praesentalis* he was now, and that for life, but he had said nothing as to how long he was to live. His son had been declared Caesar, and, having once worn the imperial purple, should now be dignified with an office in the Church. The Emperor therefore gave orders that 'Harmatius the perjurer' should be slain. It was evidently no judicial sentence that was passed, but an order for a private assassination that was given. An agent for the bloody deed was soon found. Onöulf, son of Edica and brother of king Odovacar, was still in the imperial service. He had received much kindness from Harmatius when he came a poor barbarian to the capital of the East. His patron had procured for him the dignity of Count, then that of Prefect of Illyricum, and had made him handsome presents of money to enable him to give the banquets which his rank rendered necessary. At Zeno's order Onöulf laid wait for his patron at a palace ten miles from Constantinople, and stabbed him in the back when he was mounting a spiral staircase to the Hippodrome¹. The fickle populace, who had forgotten the shouts of admiration with

¹ The Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes both record the death of Harmatius and the curious casuistry by which Zeno convinced himself that he was breaking no promise. They do not mention Onöulf, by whom Malchus (in Suidas) says that Harmatius was slain. Candidus (a friend to Zeno) says that Harmatius was cut to pieces (*ἐκρουρήθη*).

which they once hailed the rubicund 'Pyrrhus,' BOOK IV.
as he dashed in brilliant armour along the streets, CH. 2.
now applauded his death; and remembering the
cruel manner in which he, in conjunction with the
Gothic *foederati*, had punished an insurrection in
Thrace during the reign of Leo, cutting off the
hands of the peasants who were accomplices
therein, they now rejoiced with rapture that
one so arrogant and so hard-hearted had at last
met with his deserts. The young Basiliscus, son
of Harmatius, after his brief dream of Caesarship,
was installed as *Lector* in the church of Bla-
chernae, and appears before his death to have
reached the dignity of bishop of the important
city of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Helles-
pontine diocese.

The next revolt against Zeno was of a different Revolt of
Marcian,
479.
kind, and one which illustrates the peculiar ideas
about hereditary succession which were intro-
ducing themselves into the originally elective
sovereignty of the Empire. These ideas had
assumed a somewhat different shape since Pul-
cheria, sister of Theodosius II, had, by the be-
stowal of her hand, raised Marcian to the throne 450.
and thus familiarised the Romans with the idea
of a hereditary right to the purple conveyed
through females. The Marcian who now, by
assuming the diadem, gave a rallying-point for
all the unsubdued discontent with Zeno and his
Isaurians, was, on his mother's side, grandson of
that Emperor Marcian. He was also son of an

BOOK IV. Emperor—of that Anthemius sovereign of the
 CH. 2.

West whom Sidonius saw riding through the streets of Rome side by side with Ricimer¹. Yet upon neither of these relationships did he found his pretensions to the throne. He had married Leontia, the youngest daughter of the Emperor Leo, and set up the claim so often heard of in Eastern, and sometimes in Western, monarchies, that his wife, as being *Porphyrogenita*, born after her father had attained to supreme power, was of higher dignity than her elder sister Ariadne, born while Leo was still a private person serving in the household of Aspar. Marcian raised troops and attacked the palace of his brother-in-law. A bloody battle took place; the two brothers of Marcian, Procopius² and Romulus, brought up supports at a seasonable moment; the palace and the diadem were almost won. But, inheriting the slack and indolent disposition of his father, Marcian betook himself to the banquet and the couch, let slip the golden opportunity, and adjourned till the morrow the victory which never came³. For during the night Illus, the general of Zeno, who was now holding the high rank of *Magister*

¹ See the genealogies, vol. ii. pp. 461 and 491.

² It will be remembered that Procopius was a favourite name in the family of Anthemius.

³ Evagrius (iii. 26), or more probably Eustathius (who wrote 'very elegantly'), quoted by Evagrius, has some poetical remarks here about the critical nature of Opportunity, symbolised by a figure bald behind but with one lock in front, by which it may be grasped and held fast. The thought is precisely that of Shakespeare, 'There is a tide in the affairs of men,' &c.

Officiorum, brought a large number of Isaurians across the straits from Chalcedon in market boats, the regular transports having been seized by the rebels. He also practised with his bribes so successfully on the fidelity of the insurgent troops, that, when morning dawned, Marcian found himself forsaken by most of his followers, and far from capturing the palace was forced himself to flee to the Church of the Apostles¹. Hence he was dragged away, and sent, like all the enemies of Zeno, into captivity in the recesses of Asia Minor. He became a monk; he escaped; he attempted another abortive insurrection. Hereupon, if not after his first downfall, he was ordained a presbyter; and henceforth Marcian, with his wife Leontia, who had escaped to the convent of 'The Sleepless Ones,' disappears from history². It is clear that Zeno recognised, in the feeble character

¹ The above account is chiefly founded on Eustathius. Joannes Antiochenus adds some details which would be interesting if they could be illustrated by an archaeologist versed in Byzantine topography. The insurgents encamp near the house of Caesarius: from thence they divide their forces, one brother operating against Zeno in the palace, the other against Illus in the gardens (?) of Varanes (*ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Οὐαράνου*). In the middle of the day, while the imperial troops are indulging in their noontide repose, the former directs his attack against 'the porch of Delphax, in which stand the Delphic columns painted in various colours.' Busalbus, perhaps Magister Militum Praesentalium (*ἡγούμενος στρατιωτικοῦ τάγματος*), and Nicetas co-operated with Marcian. So too, according to Joannes, did Theodoric the son of Triarius, but this, as we shall see in the next chapter, is not exactly correct.

² Except that, as we shall see, Illus at one time entertained the thought of proclaiming him emperor.

BOOK IV. of his brother-in-law, less danger to his throne
 CH. 2. than from other claimants of less noble birth. Procopius and Romulus, the brothers of Marcian, were caught in Constantinople while bathing in the baths of Zeuxippus. They escaped, however, from their captivity, fled to the camp of the Gothic general, who, as we shall find in the next chapter, steadfastly refused to surrender them to their enemies, and finally made their way to Rome, where these sons and grandsons of emperors disappear into the undistinguishable crowd.

Services of
 Illus. Con-
 spiracies
 against his
 life.

The last of the insurgents against the authority of Zeno was also the best and the noblest of his foes, his countryman Illus the Isaurian. Sent with his brother Trocundus by Basiliscus to conduct the campaign in the Asiatic highlands against the fugitive Emperor, he had, as we have already seen, not only gone over himself to Zeno's side, but had been the broker through whose mediation the similar defection of Harmatius and the consequent ruin of the cause of Basiliscus had been secured. Such important services should have earned the life-long gratitude of the restored Emperor; but for some reason the ladies of the imperial family pursued him with unrelenting hatred. Three times was his life in danger through their machinations. Before a year had elapsed from Zeno's return, Paulus, a slave in the imperial household, was detected, sword in hand, watching for a favourable moment to slay the

general. The Emperor abandoned the slave to BOOK IV.
the just resentment of Illus, upon whom next CH. 2.
year was bestowed the dignity of Consul. While ^{478.}
he was busied with the restoration of the Royal
Porch, a magnificent work probably, which was
to have commemorated his year of office, another
assassin, this time a barbarian of Alan race, was
found in his apartments, again with a naked
sword in his hand. The murderer, being put to
the torture, confessed that Epinicus the Phrygian,
who, by the favour of the Empress-mother, had
risen from an obscure position to the successive
dignities of *Comes Privatarum Rerum*, *Comes*
Sacrarum Largitionum, and *Praefectus Praetorio*,
had hired him for the bloody deed. Again was
a victim sacrificed to propitiate the anger of
Illus. The Praetorian Prefect, stripped of all
his honours and wealth, was handed over to the
man whose death he had compassed, but who
generously spared his life, and was satisfied with
banishing him to his own native Isauria. Visiting
him there not long after, Illus learned from the
ex-prefect's lips that he in turn had been stimu-
lated to the deed of blood by the arch-intriguer,
the Empress-mother, Verina.

For the time Illus held his peace, and remained
in honourable and self-sought exile from the court.
Before long, however, he was recalled¹ by his

Recall of
Illus and
banish-
ment of
Verina.

¹ Joannes Antiochenus (our chief authority here) couples this recall of Illus with some catastrophe—perhaps a riot—following on the earthquake at Constantinople. His meaning is not

BOOK IV. master, who, with all the ranks of the military
 CH. 2. and civil hierarchy, crossed the Bosporus and
 478. came more than six miles along the road from Chalcedon to welcome the returning general. Immediately, perhaps before he would even enter the capital, Illus disclosed to the Emperor the intrigues of Verina against his life, and declared that he could never be in safety so long as that woman remained in Constantinople. Zeno, who knew that he too was never safe from the conspiracies of his mother-in-law, abandoned her without reluctance to his general. She was sent off under the care of the brother-in-law of Illus with a large retinue to Isauria, compelled to take the veil in the cathedral of Tarsus¹, and then shut up in the fortress of Dalisandus. Epinicus, in return for his information, was, at the request of Illus, received again into the imperial favour, perhaps restored to his old office.

Pamprepius the friend of Illus.

Among the followers of Illus who accompanied him into the capital on that day of his triumph none probably attracted more attention than the Egyptian grammarian, poet, and philosopher, Pam-

clear. We dare not connect this statement with the entry in the Chronicle of Marcellinus, 'Urbs regia per xl continuos dies assiduo terrae motu quassata, magnopere sese afflicta deplanxit,' &c., since that belongs to the year 480, and the return of Illus must be put before 479.

¹ This must, I presume, be the meaning of the words of Joannes, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ταρσὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθιεροί. Dalisandus, like some other places mentioned in the record of these transactions, must remain a mere name, the geography of this part of Asia having received but little attention from scholars.

prepius. Rich gifts of intellect were hidden under the unprepossessing countenance of this dark Egyptian, who was possibly a full-blooded negro. His poetical attainments in his native country (perhaps acquired in emulation of his compatriot Claudian) were rewarded by the chair of Grammar in the University of Athens. Here too he studied philosophy under the mighty mystic, Proclus, the last and some say the greatest, of the Neo-Platonists; and, in the judgment of all Athens, Pamprepius ranked pre-eminently the first among the great master's pupils. Having left Athens in consequence of an insult received from one of the local magistracy, who was himself a dilettante philosopher, Pamprepius came to Byzantium and attached himself to the fortunes of Illus, which he powerfully influenced both for good and for evil. There was certainly a strain of nobility in the character of the patron. 'Illus,' says his fellow countryman Candidus, 'conferred many benefits on the Roman state, by his brave deeds in war and by his generosity and righteous dealing in the city¹.' There was also a vein of literary pursuit in him, such as we should by no means have looked for in an Isaurian highlander. When first introduced to the general, Pamprepius recited, with much grace of delivery, a long-meditated discourse, probably in the Platonic or Proclean style, on the

¹ Candid. ap. Muller, iv. 136. Ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν φιλοτιμίαις probably refers to such deeds as the restoration of the Stoa Basilicé, which signalised his consulship.

BOOK IV. nature of the soul. Illus was charmed with what
 CH. 2.

he heard, proclaimed the swarthy Egyptian wisest of all the professors in Constantinople, and arranged that he should be engaged at a large salary, paid by the State, to teach the choicest spirits among the young men who resorted to the 'Museums,' or, as we should call them, the colleges, of the capital. At the time when we behold him about to re-cross the Bosphorus in the train of his triumphant patron, Pamprepius has reached a higher elevation. He is now Quaestor, belongs therefore to the awful innermost circle of the Illustres, endorses the petitions of the subjects, directs them to the proper office which has to take them into consideration, and prepares the stilted sentences in which Tarasicodissa-Zeno may clothe his meagre thoughts when replying to supplications or promulgating laws¹.

Pamprepius a heathen.

But there was a worm at the root of this amazing good fortune of the Egyptian, although for the present all went well with him². Like his master Proclus, he was a *Greek*, or, as we should call it, a heathen in his creed; and made no secret of his Hellenic faith, even in Christian Constantinople itself. The avowed heathenism drew after it the

¹ Notitia Orientis, cap. xi: 'Sub dispositione Viri Illustris Quaestoris: Leges dictandae,

Preces,

Officium non habet, sed adiutores de scriniis quos voluerit.' These adiutores were themselves *spectabiles*.

² Τῷ δὲ Παμπρεπίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν πάσῃ εὐροίᾳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, τιμῇ θέντι καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοιίστορος ἀξίᾳ (Joan. Antioch. fr. 211).

imputation of darker practices, and of a knowledge of the future obtained by unhallowed arts, an imputation to which the windy theosophy of the Neo-Platonist not unnaturally exposed him, and which Pamprepnius himself, by mysterious and enigmatical utterances, which could be claimed as prophecies if they turned out true, seems to have intentionally fostered¹. It would be going too far to attribute either to Illus or his client an attempt at the hopeless task of the restoration of heathenism: but it is probable that the general as well as the philosopher may have shown a deeper interest in the Dialogues of Plato than in the endless theological squabbles of Timothy the Weasel and Timothy Solofaciolus, and that his popularity with the mob of Constantinople may have suffered accordingly.

The insurrection of Marcian, which followed shortly after these events, was partly caused, according to the representations of the rebels, by the harsh treatment of the widow of Leo². Certainly Illus was bound to keep his master harmless from the consequences of a severity which he had himself insisted upon: yet he seems

Illus remains loyal during Marcian's insurrection.

¹ For information as to the life and character of Pamprepnius consult the Biographical Dictionaries of Suidas and of Dr. W. Smith. In the latter the somewhat crude and incoherent statements given in the former are sifted and arranged. The article 'Illus' in the same Dictionary is also particularly copious and helpful. Both articles are by J. C. Means. The philosophical careers of Pamprepnius and his great teacher Proclus are well brought out by Herzberg (*Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, iii. 510-513).

² *Διὰ τὴν πρόφασιν Βηρίνης* (Joan. Antioch. fr. 211).

BOOK IV. to have wavered for a moment. In his perplexity
 CH. 2. he turned to the dark Egyptian for counsel. The voice of Pamprepus was in favour of loyalty, and presaged the victory of Zeno. 'Providence is on our side,' he said oracularly; and when, notwithstanding the first successes of Marcian, his standard was eventually lowered, men looked with yet heightened reverence on the prophetic powers of the Neo-Platonist professor.

Third attempt on the life of Illus, 482?

To Zeno's triumph on this occasion the valour and the skill of Illus, as we have seen, largely contributed. But if the Emperor prized his services, the Empress could not forget her mother's wrongs. Ariadne on this occasion belied the fair and honourable character which, as far as we can judge, she generally bore in a dark and troublous time. When the Master of the Offices (for this was the dignity now held by Illus) was mounting the stairs to view the races in the Hippodrome, a life-guardsmen¹ named Spanicius, hired by Ariadne for the purpose, drew his sword and endeavoured to cut off his head. The armour-bearer of Illus interposed and struck up the assassin's hand, but the escape was so narrow that the right ear of the intended victim was actually severed, and he ever after wore a skull-cap when he appeared in public².

¹ Scholarius (Theophanes): 'Illus dignitate Magister Officiorum amputata apud Comitatum auricula' (Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 484).

² Quære the date of this third attempted assassination. Theophanes describes it at A.D. 480, but his chronology is ex-

It was vain to ask this time for the surrender of the instigator of the crime, and probably from BOOK IV. CH. 2. henceforward it was only a question of time how soon Illus should revolt. But, according to our Quarrel about Longinus. chief authority¹, the Emperor began the quarrel by insisting on the liberation of his brother Longinus. This person, whose previous history is almost hopelessly obscure, had been for ten years kept a close prisoner by Illus at a castle in Isauria. So strange a predicament for the brother of a reigning Emperor is perhaps explained by the private character of Longinus, which was detestably immoral. He may have inflicted on the general some wrong which in one less powerfully protected would have called for the punishment of death, a punishment which even in his case could be commuted for nothing less than life-long imprisonment. It would seem, however, that the Emperor's request was granted, and that both Longinus and the mother of Zeno arrived in Constantinople, having been voluntarily released by Illus².

The Emperor next proceeded to strip Illus of Illus disgraced. his military command, which he bestowed on one of the barbarian *foederati*, John the Goth. He then

tremely loose. Marcellinus puts it apparently in, but really before, 484. Probably it was in 482 or 483.

¹ Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214.

² Theophanes, who relates this circumstance, connects it with the events of the year 483, but attributes the liberation to Illus and *Leontius*, which looks as if it was later than 484. But I despair of introducing coherence or probability into the story of Zeno's Isaurian relatives.

BOOK IV. made a harangue to the people of Constantinople
 CH. 2. —there are some indications that Zeno was vain of
 his oratorical powers—setting forth his grievances
 against Illus, and ordering that all his relations and
 dependents should be banished from Constanti-
 nople. The possessions of these men the Emperor,
 ever thinking of his highland home, distributed
 among the cities of Isauria.

Revolt of
 Illus,
 484.

486.

Illus, thus driven to open revolt, withdrew into
 his native Taurus-country and endeavoured to
 strengthen himself by alliances. The kings of
 Armenia and Persia promised help if he would
 effect a junction of his forces with theirs. Odova-
 car, 'the tyrant of Western Rome¹,' was also
 appealed to, but for the present declined to join the
 confederacy, though two years later he showed
 symptoms, or Zeno thought that he showed symp-
 toms, of a willingness to favour the cause of Illus.
 The insurgent general seems to have at first pro-
 claimed Marcian² Emperor, but the attempt to
 conjure with this name proving fruitless, he next
 sought out his former persecutor Verina in her
 exile. Their common hostility to Zeno brought
 these two old antagonists together. Verina, ar-
 rayed in imperial robes, was announced as the
 lawful disposer of the diadem, and mounting a high
 platform, in the presence doubtless of the assembled

¹ Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214 : καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὀδόακρον ἔστειλλε, τὸν τῆς ἑσπερίας Ῥώμης τύραννον.

² So says Joannes (τότε Μαρκιανὸν ἀναζώννυσι), but it is not easy to reconcile this with other accounts of the life of Marcian after the failure of his revolt.

army, proceeded to invest with the insignia of empire a certain citizen of Dalisandus of obscure parentage, named Leontius, whom Illus had selected for the dangerous honour. Leontius nominated the high officers of the household and the state, distributed money to the people, and established his court at Antioch, which had not, apparently, been the residence of an Augustus since the days of Valens.

Zeno, whose position was somewhat insecure, made for himself strange alliances with ecclesiastics and barbarians. He persuaded his fellow-countryman Conon, bishop of Apamea in Syria, to leave his episcopal throne and don the armour of a legionary. At the same time he bestowed the chief command in Isauria on Linges, the bastard brother of Conon, a man of high courage, and probably of great local influence. Of the share which the Goths under Theodoric and the wild Rugians from beyond the Danube took in this war as soldiers of Zeno it will be convenient to speak in the following chapter. After Leontius for little more than two months had possessed the semblance of sovereignty his fortunes began to decline. Illus, who had been worsted in the field, sent his wife, and provisions for a siege, to the fortress of Chereus. These precautions, and the messages he sent to Leontius and Verina to quit Antioch and come to him with all speed, produced a discouraging effect on his army. The officers dispersed to seek shelter in friendly fortresses, while many of the

BOOK IV.
CH. 2.

Leontius
pro-
claimed.

The revolt
does not
prosper.

BOOK IV. more obscure abettors of the rebellion took refuge
 CH. 2. in the caves with which that part of Asia Minor
 abounds.

Blockade
 of the fort
 of Papir-
 ius.

The castle of Cherreus also bore the name of its builder Papirius, apparently a kind of robber chief-tain who had occupied it as a feudal baron occupied his turrets by the Rhine, in order to levy toll on passers-by and to keep his rustic neighbours in terrified subjection. Papirius was apparently now dead, but his son Indacus, a man of great courage and physical strength, who fought with his left hand and as a runner outstripped the fleetest horsemen, still held the castle and was faithful to the cause of Illus¹. Here had Marcian been imprisoned, and here Verina². Hither did the empress-mother now return, a fugitive though no longer a captive. The fatigues and anxieties of the last few months had been too much for her strength, and on the ninth day after she reached the castle her turbulent and intriguing life came to an end. She was embalmed and placed in a leaden coffin, with the hope doubtless that one day a tomb befitting her dignity

Death of
 Verina.

¹ For Indacus (surnamed Cottunes) and his father Papirius see Joann. Antioch. fr. 206. 2 (combined with 214. 6), and Suidas, s. v. Indacus. Suidas says that he surpassed the greatest runners of antiquity in speed, that he would suddenly vanish from the high road, and be seen like a bird skimming over the most craggy and inaccessible precipices, that he would accomplish in one day, on foot, journeys which the fleetest horseman could not have performed, and so on.

² Theodorus Lector, i. 37, ii. 3. Verina was perhaps removed from Dalisandus to Papyrium.

might be found for her beside the Bosphorus¹. After BOOK IV.
CH. 2. thirty days died Marsus, a faithful friend of Illus, and he by whose intervention Pamprepius was first introduced to him. The castle was strong and provisioned for a long siege, and Illus, after entrusting the details of the daily defence to Indacus, shut himself up in his library and devoted his now abundant leisure to the study of his beloved manuscripts. Leontius took the turn in his fortunes less philosophically. He macerated himself with fastings, and passed his days in unmanly lamentations.

After the siege had lasted two years, the hopes Illus and
Leontius
slain. of Illus and Leontius growing ever fainter, the besiegers, under the command of John the Goth, obtained possession of a fort on an opposite hill which in some degree commanded the castle, and plied their engines with great effect². The besieged called for a parley, and by the mediation of ^{486.} the Goth sent to the Emperor at Constantinople a letter reminding him of their past services and praying for forgiveness. The appeal, however, was ineffectual³, and the siege dragged on for two years longer. At length, at the end of four years, ^{488.}

¹ Βηρίνα δὲ μετ' ἐνάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἐν φρουρίῳ καταφυγῆς παρεθείσα (conj. παραλυθείσα) ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐν μολιβδίνῃ ἐταριχεύθη λάρνακι (Joan. Ant. fr. 214. 6).

² Μετὰ τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν τοῦ ἀντιφρουρίου πολλοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐχρῶντο.

³ The MS. of Joannes Antiochenus here breaks off abruptly. We have to trust to imagination for the completion of the sentence and to go to Theodorus Lector for the end of the siege.

BOOK IV. treachery accomplished what fair fighting could
CH. 2.

not achieve. The wife of Trocundus, the brother of Illus, privately communicated to the Emperor her willingness to betray her relative. She was sent for this purpose from Constantinople, probably with a delusive offer of pardon, entered the fortress, and succeeded in opening its gates to the imperial troops. Illus and Leontius were slain, and their heads were cut off and sent to the Emperor. Pamprepius was slain with them. All through the four years of siege he had fed his associates with hopes of ultimate triumph; and it is said that when they found that his prophecies were about to turn out false they themselves in their disappointment cut him to pieces. The authorities for this story are not of the highest class¹. One would gladly disbelieve a history so inconsistent with the character of the brave philosopher-soldier Illus.

Zeno pries
into the
future.

No further rebellion disturbed the reign of Zeno. His brother, the shameless profligate Longinus, was now all-powerful. Master of the Offices in 484, Consul in 486 and again in 490, he was the head of the Isaurian faction in the capital, and doubtless intended to wear the diadem after his brother. The health of the Emperor was now visibly declining, and he was filled with a restless desire to know how it would fare with his family and his

490.

¹ Theophanes and Damascius the philosopher (in the Life of Isidorus). The latter is a contemporary authority, but we have his work only in the somewhat obscure and one-sided report of it by Photius (Bibliotheca, Cod. 242).

beloved Isaurians after his death. With this view BOOK IV.
CH. 2. he consulted Maurianus the Count, 'a very learned man, who was acquainted with certain mystic rites and had predicted many future events¹, and asked to be informed of the name of his successor on the throne. The answer was ambiguous: 'Your successors shall be your wife and one who has served as Silentarius'—that title being given to the guard of honour, thirty in number, who watched in the purple chamber. On hearing this Zeno at once ordered the arrest of a certain Pelagius, formerly a Silentarius but now a Patrician, and an eminent statesman, who seemed to him the most likely person to be thus indicated. Moreover, Pelagius, who was a man of high character and some literary fame (he had written in verse a history of the Empire from the time of Augustus), had dared to rebuke the misgovernment of Zeno and to oppose earnestly his project of declaring his fatuous brother Caesar². His property was ordered to be confiscated, and soon after he was strangled by his gaolers³. When the Praetorian Prefect Arcadius⁴ heard of this act of iniquity he rebuked Zeno for it with a freedom worthy of

¹ Paschal Chronicle. (A late authority, but the death of Pelagius is confirmed by the contemporary testimony of Marcellinus.)

² Cedrenus, i. 621 (ed. Bonn).

³ *Excubitores*. (Comes Marcellinus says that Pelagius was strangled 'in insula quae Panormum dicitur' (?).)

⁴ It is possible that this faithful counsellor was really the Emperor's brother-in-law, as Zeno's first wife was named Arcadia.

BOOK IV. better times. Upon this the Emperor ordered
 CH. 2. Arcadius also to be killed the first time that he
 should set foot within the palace, but the Prefect, receiving a hint of his danger, 'turned aside as if casually to pray in the Great Church [St. Sophia], claimed the right of asylum there, and so escaped bitter death¹.'

Death of
 Zeno.

Next year (April 9, 491) the life of the wretched and suspicious tyrant was ended by an epileptic seizure. Longinus claimed the throne; but now the long-suppressed indignation of the citizens broke forth; civil war raged, and the Isaurians, who had for years contemplated this event and devised their plan of action, set the city on fire with long poles prepared for the purpose, tipped with flax and sulphur². A considerable part of the city and the Circus was burnt, but at length order was restored and the Isaurian faction owned themselves vanquished. Longinus was sent back to his native land, and many of the Isaurians accompanied him at their own request, doubtless because their lives were imperilled by the fury of the mob³.

Anastasius
 succeeds.

The prophecy of Count Maurianus came true. The Empress Ariadne was requested to bestow the

¹ Paschal Chronicle.

² Evagrius, iii. 29; Comes Marcellinus (s. a. 491), combined with Malchus, fr. 19.

³ The account given by Theodorus Lector (ii. 9) is not quite the same as that given above (from Evagrius): 'As the Isaurians had done many monstrous and inhuman things at Constantinople, Anastasius *ejected them all from the city*. Going forth they rushed into rebellion' (*πρὸς τυραννίδα ὤρμησαν*), &c.

diadem where she would, and she bestowed it, and her hand, on Anastasius, a native of Dyrrhachium, past the prime of life, not yet even a senator, but one of the *schola* of Silentarii. With the events of his reign of twenty-seven years, which on the whole fully justified the choice of Ariadne, we have no present concern, but it will be well briefly to follow the fortunes of the Isaurian *émigrés* before we return to the history of Theodoric. When the exiles trooped back to their rough Asiatic homes, it may be imagined that they returned in no good-humour with the new ruler of the East. Soon they were in open insurrection, Conon the militant bishop again taking up arms on behalf of his countrymen; and it is probable, though not distinctly stated, that they proclaimed Longinus Emperor. Not he, however, but a certain Athenodorus, seems to have taken the command in the war with Constantinople which broke out next year, and which lasted till the end of 497. It remained but a local affair, for the insurgents apparently never pushed their incursions further than into Phrygia; but the Emperor, who had confided the conduct of the war to two generals of the same name, John the Goth and John the Hunchback, was accused by his critics of feebleness and faint-heartedness in its prosecution. After five years of it he grew weary, and secretly confided to Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople, that he would gladly see it at an end. As the Isaurians, with all their savageness, were orthodox Chalcedonian Christians, and Ana-

BOOK IV.

CH. 2.

Isaurian
insurrec-
tion.

and war,
492-497.

BOOK IV.
CH. 2.

stasius was not, Euphemius leaned somewhat towards the side of the rebels, and most improperly repeated what had been said to him to yet another John, the Patrician, father-in-law of the insurgent general Athenodorus. The Patrician hastened to Anastasius, expecting to be made the instrument of a negotiation, but found the Emperor, instead thereof, highly indignant at this betrayal of his confidence. Next year (498), prosecuting the war in a bolder and more imperial way, he obtained a complete victory over his enemies. Athenodorus and Longinus were taken prisoners and beheaded. Their heads, sent by John the Goth to Constantinople, were fixed high on poles and exhibited at Sycae opposite the city, 'a sweet sight to the Byzantines,' says a historian, 'in return for the evils which they had endured from Zeno and the Isaurians.' When the overthrow of the rebel cause was certain, Anastasius sent his Master of the Offices¹ to the Patriarch with the insulting message, 'Your prayers, O great man! have covered your friends with soot².'

¹ Evagrius.

² The authorities for the Isaurian rebellion are—

(1) Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 492-498;

(2) Theodorus Lector, ii. 9. 10;

(3) Evagrius (perhaps quoting Eustathius), iii. 29. 35.

These accounts are in the main harmonious. Probably the Theodorus of Evagrius is the same as the Athenodorus of Marcellinus and Theodorus Lector. Another Longinus, also an Isaurian, surnamed 'the Selinuntian,' was taken prisoner in 482 (Marc.) by John Hunchback and sent in chains to Constantinople, where he was led in triumph through the streets (Evagrius, iii. 35).

The remembrance of this Isaurian rebellion was maintained by a tribute called 'Isaurica,' which was thenceforward collected (probably from the malcontent province) for the imperial treasury; and we are told that from this tax, amounting to £200,000 annually, were paid the subsidies to the barbarian *foederati* ¹.

In the sketch which has been given of the reign of Zeno, its political aspect only has been dwelt upon. Its place in the development of religious doctrine must be alluded to, however briefly, for, as Gibbon truly remarks, 'it is in ecclesiastical story that Zeno appears least contemptible.' Throughout his reign the Emperor was a steady supporter of orthodoxy, and the patriarchs of Constantinople, who were thorns in the side of a Basiliscus and an Anastasius, served him as faithfully and as steadily as his own Isaurians. There was a great deal, however, of sheer misunderstanding of the Council of Chalcedon and much personal rancour against it in some of the Eastern dioceses, especially in Egypt and Syria. Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of great gifts and much force of character, induced the Emperor to attempt to remove these misunderstandings and to soften this rancour, by the issue of his celebrated *Henoticon*, or Letter of Union, a document which was of ⁴⁸² or 483.

¹ Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ καλούμενα πρῶν Ἰσαυρικὰ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἐννέχθη θησαυροῖς· ἦν δὲ ἅρα τοῦτο χρυσίον ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος τοῖς βαρβάροις χορηγούμενον πεντακισχιλίας ἔλκον λίτρας. (Pounds of gold are no doubt intended.) Evagr. iii. 35.

BOOK IV. course drawn up by Acacius himself. In this
 CH. 2. instrument the *Via Media* of Catholic orthodoxy, as distinct, on the one hand from the Nestorian doctrine that Christ's human nature was a mere robe worn by the Eternal Son, and on the other, from the Monophysite doctrine that the Godhead was weary, suffered, and died, was reaffirmed in terms which appear to the lay mind undistinguishable from the decrees of Chalcedon. A formal adhesion to the utterances of that Council was, however, not insisted upon, and, with some lack of candour, the one allusion to Chalcedon which was introduced was couched in purposely disrespectful terms.

Its praise-
 worthy
 motives.

Such was the tenour of the Henoticon of Zeno, a document which has met with but scant favour from ecclesiastical historians¹. Yet the object which it proposed to itself, the closing of a barren and profitless controversy, was one earnestly to be desired in the interests of a living faith. The mere statesman could not be blind to the fact that this Monophysite logomachy (which in fact paved the way for the conquests of Mohammed) was rending the Eastern Empire in pieces. And from the point of view of a Byzantine official, there was nothing monstrous in the idea of the Augustus preparing a symbol of religious belief for all his subjects, though no doubt, as a matter of ecclesiastical order, that symbol should have been submitted

¹ 'Subtle to escape subtleties' is Milman's verdict (*Hist. of Latin Christianity*, i. 248).

for discussion to a council of bishops. However, BOOK IV.
CH. 2. issued as it was on the sole authority of the Emperor, it all but succeeded in its object. Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch accepted it; and thus the four great patriarchates of the East, after the discords of forty years, were again united in apparent harmony. There was but one exception, but that was world-important. The Pope of Rome, now but a precarious subject of the Eastern Caesar, unwilling to acquiesce in any further exaltation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and determined above all things that the decrees of Chalcedon, those trophies of the victory of the mighty Leo, should not merely mould but should be recognised as moulding the faith of the whole Christian world, refused to accept the Henoticon of Zeno, and soon began to clamour for its withdrawal. It will be necessary hereafter to sketch the outlines of the controversy thence ensuing, a controversy in which it is impossible to believe that either party saw any principle at stake other than the sublime principle of self-assertion, the sacred duty of choosing the chief seats in the synagogues and the uppermost places at feasts.

But whatever its motives, this controversy led to a schism between the two great sees of Eastern and Western Christendom, a schism which lasted thirty-five years, which had important results on the earlier fortunes of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy, and which undoubtedly prepared the way for the more enduring schisms of later years. Its unfortunate results.

BOOK IV. The Henoticon of Zeno, which was meant to
CH. 2. reconcile the Churches by the Bosphorus and
the Nile, laid the first courses of the wall of
separation which now parts St. Petersburg from
the Vatican.

CHAPTER III.

THE TWO THEODORICS IN THRACE.

Authorities.

Sources :—

OUR chief source for this chapter is MALCHUS (cir. 500), BOOK IV.
CH. 3. whose graphic touches make us continually regret that we have no longer the entire work, as it lay before Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, when he made his Excerpts as to Embassies. I have quoted from Müller's edition (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv), as he arranges the fragments in a better order than that adopted in the Bonn edition. His order is that indicated in Köpke's '*Anfänge des Königthums*' (pp. 155-6, n. 3).

A little further information is supplied by JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS (610-650?), and by EUSTATHIUS (502) as quoted by EVAGRIUS. ENNODIUS (Panegyric on Theodoric—about 510), JORDANES (552), and PROCOPIUS (550) describe Theodoric's negotiations with Zeno as to the Italian expedition.

Guides :—

Dahn, '*Könige der Germanen*,' Part ii. 67-77 (especially helpful as to the relative position of the two Theodorics); and Köpke, '*Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen*,' pp. 148-164.

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY LIFE OF
THEODORIC.

ANNO ÆTATIS.		A.D.
	Born the day of Ostrogothic victory over Huns (probably)	454
7	Sent as hostage to Emperor Leo at Constantinople	461
	Remains at Byzantium, ten years, till	471
17	Conquers Sarmatians and takes Singidunum (Bel- grade)	471
20	Death of his father Theudemir and of Emperor Leo	474
23	Assists Zeno against Basiliscus	477
23	Patricius, Magister Militiæ, adopted son of Em- peror	477
24	Abortive campaign against Theodoricus Triarii .	478
24	Coalition with him against Zeno	478
25	Theodoricus Triarii enters service of Emperor .	479
25	Campaign of Theodoric the Amal in Epirus Nova. Revolt of Marcian	479
27	Attempt of Theodoricus Triarii against Constanti- nople. His death	481
28	Theodoric ravages the two Macedonias and Thes- saly, and plunders Larissa	482
29	Magister Militiæ Praesentalis	483
30	Consul. He assassinates Recitach	484
30	Sent against Illus and Leontius, but recalled .	484
33	Ravages up to the gates of Constantinople. Burns Melantias. Returns to Nova whence he had set out	487
34	Starts for Italy	488

Theo-
doric's
aims.

SUCH as has been described in the last chapter was the wild welter of sedition, intrigue, religious rancour, military insubordination, imperial tyranny in which the young Ostrogoth was to spend the fourteen years following the death of his father

and his own elevation to sole kingship over his people. What were his own aims? Confused and uncertain enough, doubtless; but they gradually grew clearer, and the clearer they became the more they drew him away from Byzantium. What did he require? First and foremost food for his people, who were suffering; as all the world was suffering, from that movement of the nations in which they had borne so large a share; who had wandered from the Middle Danube to the Balkans, and had not yet found an unravaged land where they could dwell in plenty. For himself, he wanted, sometimes, a great place in the Roman official hierarchy, in the midst of that *civitas* which, in his ten years of hostage-ship, he had learned to love so well. To be saluted as *Illustris*; to command the sumptuously clothed 'silentiaries' in the imperial palace; himself to wear the *laticlave* and take his seat in that most venerable assembly in the world, the Roman Senate; to stand beside Augustus when ambassadors from the ends of the earth came to prostrate themselves before him,—this was what seemed sometimes supremely to be desired. But then, again, there were times when he felt that the love and loyalty of his own yellow-haired barbarians were worth all the pomp and flatteries of the purple presence-chamber. He was himself by birth a king, ruler of a dwindled people, it was true, but still a king; an Amal sprung from the seed of gods, and with the blood of countless generations of kings coursing in his veins. Was such an one to wait obsequiously

BOOK IV. outside the purple veil ; to deem it a high honour
 CH. 3.

when the voice of the sensual poltroon who might happen to be the Augustus of the hour, and whom some woman's favour had raised from nothingness to the diadem, called him into 'the sacred presence' ? No : the King of the Goths was greater than any Illustis of Byzantium. And yet how could he keep his kingship, how sway this mass of brave but stolid souls whose only trade was fighting, without putting himself at enmity with the Empire which, after all, he loved ?

The two
 Theo-
 dorics.

The perplexities of his position were not lessened by the fact that he was not the undisputed representative even of the Gothic nation in the eyes of the Eastern Romans. Over against him, the Amal king, stood another Theodoric the Goth, his senior in age, his inferior by birth, brought forward into notice by his connection with other barbarian chiefs, once all-powerful at court, and regarded probably by the Byzantine statesmen as the foremost 'Scythian' in their land. This was Theodoric the before-mentioned son of Triarius, surnamed Strabo (the Squinter), nephew of the wife of the great Aspar, distantly connected by blood with the Ostrogothic king, but not belonging to the Amal line¹. These two Theodorics cross and re-

¹ The statement that there was relationship between the two Theodorics rests only on the authority of Joannes Antiochenus, who says that Theodoric the Amal was ἀνεψιός τοῦ 'Ρευράχ, the latter being a son of Theodoric Strabo. On the other hand, Jordanes distinctly says of the latter that he was 'alia stirpe, non Amala procreatus;' De Reb. Get. lii.

cross one another's paths like Una and Duessa in the 'Faery Queen.' By the Greek historians the older chieftain is generally spoken of as 'Theudericus' simply, while the more nobly born is invariably called 'the son of Walamir.' This mistake, for such it must certainly have been, since the family historian¹ asserts him to have been the son of Theudemir, was probably due to the circumstances of his first introduction to the Byzantine Court. Walamir being then king of the Goths, this child, which was brought as a pledge of his fidelity, was known as the son of Walamir; and, that title once given to him, the courtiers of Leo and Zeno were too supercilious or too careless to change it. With his own name and his father's name thus denied to him, and wavering, as he sometimes felt his own soul to waver, between the gorgeous bondage of the one career and the uncultured freedom of the other, he may well have sometimes doubted of his own identity. In order that we may be under no such confusion between the two leaders of the Goths, it will be well to drop the name which is common to both of them, for a while, and to call Theodoric son of Theudemir 'the Amal' and Theodoric Strabo 'the son of Triarius'.²

Our first undoubted information as to the son of Triarius belongs to the latter years of the Emperor

Theodoricus
Triarii
in revolt.

¹ Cassiodorus.

² If I followed the example of Tillemont, I should call him 'the Squinter.' The phrase *Le Louche* haunts with its ugly presence many pages of his Life of Zeno.

BOOK IV. Leo¹. We may infer that ever since the fall of
 CH. 8.

473¹

his great kinsman Aspar he had assumed, with his barbarians, an attitude of sullen opposition or of active hostility to the Empire. At length it became necessary to send an embassy to ascertain what terms would purchase his friendship. For this mission Leo selected Pelagius the Silentary, the same officer, doubtless, who seventeen years later was foully murdered by the dying Zeno. The son of Triarius received Pelagius courteously, and sent a return-embassy to Constantinople, expressing his willingness to live in friendship with the Romans, but claiming the concession of three points,—that the whole of Aspar's inheritance should be made over to him, that he should succeed to all his military commands, and that his people should have settlements assigned them in Thrace. Only the confirmation of the nephew in the military rank of his uncle was Leo willing to concede, and accordingly the war went forward. The son of Triarius divided his forces, and attacked both Philippi and Arcadiopolis². Against the first

¹ Jordanes, as we have already seen, carries back the prosperity of Theodoricus Triarii (and the Amal jealousy of him) to the war preceding the surrender of the child Theodoric as a hostage (461-2); but we must not place too much dependence on the accuracy of Jordanes on such a point as this. These are his words (*De Reb. Get.* lii): 'Missa legatione ad imperatorem Valamir ejusque germani... vident Theodericum Triarii filium... omnino florentem cum suis, Romanorumque amicitiiis junctum et annua solennia consequentem et se tantum despici.'

² Tillemont places Arcadiopolis 'between Constantinople and Hadrianople.' I have not found any more exact description of the site.

city he achieved no considerable success, but he pressed the blockade of the second so closely that the inhabitants, after feeding on horseflesh, and even on the corpses of their fellow-citizens, were compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, however, the Goths themselves were suffering all the miseries of famine. Food, not empire, was probably the prize for which many of these campaigns were planned. And thus the high contracting parties came to an agreement, the terms being that the son of Triarius was to receive the highly honourable post of *Magister Equitum et Peditum Praesentalis*, and faithfully to serve the Emperor Leo against all his enemies, the Vandals only excepted; to receive for himself and followers a yearly subsidy of 2000 lbs. of gold (£80,000), and further to be recognised as king (*αὐτοκράτορα*) of the Goths, while the Emperor bound himself not to harbour any rebels against the new king's authority. This last clause possibly points to some growing tendency on the part of the Triarian Goths to enlist under the banners of his better-born rival, the true Amal king. It has been well remarked¹ that this proposal to accept a patent of *Gothic* royalty from the Roman Augustus distinctly indicates inferior ancestry, an absence of true royal descent on the part of the son of Triarius. With the kingship of Alaric, of Walamir, and of the young Theodoric, Roman emperors had had no concern. It was no

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.

Peace
arranged.

¹ By Köpke (*Anfänge der Königthums*, p. 154) and Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, ii. 69).

BOOK IV. doubt tacitly assumed that the Goths would find
 CH. 8. settlements in Thrace, and in consideration of their
 yearly subsidy would abstain from promiscuous
 raids upon their neighbours.

Threaten-
 ing atti-
 tude of
 Theo-
 doricus
 Triarii.

The death of Leo and the proclamation of Zeno brought about a change in the attitude of the son of Triarius towards the Empire. The opposition was probably sharper between the Gothic party once headed by Aspar, and the Isaurians, than between any other two factions; and the son of Triarius may have speculated on the elevation of Basiliscus rather than Zeno to the vacant throne. At any rate he now threw off the mask, divested himself, we must suppose, of his dignity as Commander of the Household Troops, and advanced in a threatening attitude to the long wall which defended the Thracian Chersonese. Against him Zeno sent some troops under the command of Heraclius, son of Florus, a brave general, but harsh, unpopular, and destitute of forethought. In his over-confidence he stumbled apparently into some trap prepared for him by the barbarians, was defeated, and taken prisoner. The Emperor sent an embassy to the son of Triarius to arrange for the liberation of his general, whose ransom was fixed at 100 talents (£20,000). This sum, with delicate consideration for the feelings of the captive, Zeno ordered to be paid by the near relations of Heraclius, saying that if any one else (himself for instance) found the money, it would seem as if the great Heraclius was being bought and sold like a slave.

The money was paid to the Goths, and an escort of barbarians was told off to escort him to the friendly shelter of Arcadiopolis. On the march, while Heraclius, who seems not to have been allowed the dignity of a horse, was walking along the road, one of the Goths smote him roughly on the shoulder. An attendant of the general returned the blow, and said, 'Fellow! remember what you are. Do you not know who it is that you have struck?' 'I know him quite well,' was the reply, 'and I know that he is going to perish miserably by my hand.' With that, he and his companions drew their swords, and one cut off the head of Heraclius, another his hands. What became of the ransom we are not told. The story is not creditable to the good faith or the humanity of the barbarians; but it was stated in explanation, though not in justification of the deed, that Heraclius had once ordered some soldiers serving under him, who had committed a trifling military offence, to be thrown into a dry well, and had then compelled their comrades to bury them under a shower of stones. It was the memory of this cruel deed which now cost him his life¹.

Instead of Heraclius, Illus was sent to prosecute the war against the Gothic mutineers: but soon the face of affairs was changed by the success of the conspiracy in favour of Basiliscus, which was

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.

Rebellion
of Basiliscus,
475-477.

¹ Malchus, fr. 4 and 5 (ap. Müller), combined with Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 210.

BOOK IV. in fact hatched at the head-quarters of Illus. Zeno
CH. 8.
 475-477. was now a fugitive, Basiliscus was draped in the purple, and the son of Triarius resumed his place in the Court of Byzantium. He was, however, indignant at finding himself, the veteran and the representative of the great Aspar, constantly postponed to the young dandy Harmatius, 'a man who seemed to think about nothing but the dressing of his hair and other adornments of his person¹.' Possibly this jealousy made him somewhat slack in upholding the tottering fortunes of Basiliscus. His namesake the Amal, on the other hand, co-operated zealously with Illus and the other generals in bringing about the return of Zeno, who contrived to send messengers to him at his quarters at Novi asking for help². A panegyrist of the great Theodoric³ in his later years ascribed to him the sole glory of restoring the fugitive and helpless Emperor to his throne; but this no doubt is the exaggeration of a courtier.

Theodoric
 the Amal
 in favour
 at Court.

The upshot of the whole matter is that in the year 478 we find the son of Triarius again outside the pale of the commonwealth, wandering probably up and down the passes of the Balkan, in a state of chronic hostility to the Empire, while his rival, the young Amal king, holds the dignities

¹ Malchus, fr. 8, apud Müller.

² Anon. Valesii, 9: 'Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam, deinde misit ad civitatem Novam ubi erat Theodoricus, dux Gothorum, filius Walameris, et eum invitavit in solacium sibi adversus Basiliscum.'

³ Ennodius (Panegyricus, p. 168, ed. Migne).

of Patrician and *Magister Utriusque Militiae*, dignities usually reserved for much older men¹, and is, by some process in which Roman and barbarian ideas must have been strangely blended, adopted as the Emperor's son-in-arms². It is, however, a curious commentary on the double and doubtful position of the young Ostrogoth, that his duties as *Magister Utriusque Militiae* do not appear to have prevented him from continuing to reside with his people, in the Province of Scythia by the mouth of the Danube.

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.
478.

Soon after the restoration of Zeno to the throne, an embassy came to Constantinople from 'the Goths in Thrace allied with the Empire whom the Romans call. *foederati*,' and who were evidently the bands under the command of the son of Triarius. This description, which we owe to the accurate pen of Malchus, is interesting as showing that the term *foederati* was still employed, that these wandering hordes, formidable as they were to the peaceful husbandman, were still nominally the allies of Rome. Nay, the word carries us back a hundred years to the time when Theodosius enlisted the disheartened fragments of the Gothic

Embassy
from
Gothic
foederati,
478.

¹ Malchus (ap. Müller, p. 129). The precise character of Theodoric's military rank is a matter of conjecture.

² 'Et post aliquod tempus ad ampliandum honorem ejus in arma sibi eum filium adoptavit' (Jord. De Reb. Get. lvii). The date is doubtful, but the words of Malchus, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔδει μηδέποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλως πως ἢ πρὸς πατέρα φρονεῖν τε καὶ διατίθεσθαι, seem to refer to the same ceremony, and if so, would fix it to this period.

BOOK IV. nation under his eagles, and perhaps permits us to
 CH. 3. see in the son of Triarius the natural successor of
 478. the Ostrogothic chiefs, Alatheus and Saphrax.

Will the
 Emperor
 receive
 Theo-
 doricus
 Triarii into
 favour?

The request preferred by this embassy was that the Emperor would be pleased to be reconciled with *their* Theodoric, who wished for nothing better than to lead a quiet and peaceable life, and refrain from vexing the republic with his arms. On the other hand, they begged the Emperor to consider what harm Theodoric the Amal had done to the State, and how many cities he had destroyed when he too was in opposition. Let Zeno bury old grudges in the grave of Basiliscus, and only consider which cause was really most for the advantage of the Roman world.

Consulta-
 tion with
 the Senate,

On receiving this message the Emperor convoked a meeting of the Senate and desired the advice of that body as to his reply. The Senators answered that it was out of the question to think of taking *both* the Theodorics into his pay, inasmuch as the revenues, even now, scarcely sufficed to supply the regular soldiers with their rations. Which of the two the Emperor would select to honour with his friendship, was a matter for Augustus himself to decide. He then called in to the palace all the common soldiers who were in the city and all the *scholae* (regiments of household troops); mounted the platform (*suggestum*¹),

• and with
 the army.

¹ βήμα is the word used by Malchus. No doubt the kind of structure from which Trajan is represented in the Column as addressing his soldiers is intended by the historian.

from which a Roman emperor was accustomed to harangue his men ; and delivered a long oration of invective against the son of Triarius. ' This man has always been the enemy of the Roman name. He has wandered, ravaging, through the plains of Thrace. He has joined in the cruel deeds of Harmatius, cutting off, like him, the hands of his captives¹, and has frightened all the agricultural population from their homes. He exercised a disastrous influence on the commonwealth in the affair of Basiliscus, and persuaded that usurper to make away with his Roman troops, on the plea that the Goths would suffice for his defence. And now he sends an embassy, nominally to sue for peace, but really to demand the office of *Magister*. If you therefore have any opinion on these matters, utter it boldly, for, indeed, for this purpose have I summoned you into the palace, knowing that that emperor is likely to succeed who calls his brave soldiers into his counsels.' The soldiers, seeing which way their advice was asked for, all shouted for war with the son of Triarius ; and, after a short interval of

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.
478.

¹ This is how Gibbon, following the Latin version, translates the passage *χείρας τε ἀποτέμνων ἅμα τῷ Ἀρματίῳ*. In Smith's edition this translation is rebuked and 'cutting off the hands of *Harmatius*' is proposed instead. But the old interpretation seems to me allowable and the more probable of the two. In fact it is rendered almost certain by the statement of Suidas (also perhaps extracted from Malchus) concerning Harmatius : *Ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος πρὸς τοὺς στασιάζοντας, ὅσους λάβοι τῶν Θρακῶν, τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτέμνων ἀπέπεμπε*. But it is possible that *Ἀρματίῳ* is a mistake for *Ἡρακλείῳ* (see p. 85).

BOOK IV. hesitation, a defiant answer was returned to his
 CH. 3. ambassadors. Zeno's resentment against him was
 War re- further increased by the fact of the discovery of the
 solved on. secret practices of three of the Gothic chief's ad-
 478. herents in the city. These men (one of whom was
 'Anthemius the physician') had not only written
 letters to him themselves, but had forged others
 (if in truth they were forgeries) from men holding
 high office in the State, bidding the son of Triarius
 be of good heart since he had many well-wishers
 in the city. The three traitors were punished
 with stripes and exile, the sentence of death being
 commuted at the express request of the Emperor.

Theo-
 doricus
 Triarii gets
 the best
 of it.

War then, open war, was declared by Zeno on
 the Gothic *foederati*. It seems, however, soon to
 have suggested itself to the Emperor, that *his*
 Theodoric was every day growing weaker, while
 the son of Triarius was accumulating a larger and
 larger army; and he accordingly determined, if
 it were possible, to make peace with the latter on
 reasonable conditions. He sent therefore to offer
 him his own previous terms, restoration of his
 private property (including probably the estates
 of Aspar), a life unmolested and unmolested, and
 the surrender of his son as a hostage for the fulfil-
 ment of this compact. But the books of the Sibyl
 were not now for sale at the same price as before.
 The son of Triarius refused to consent to these
 terms. He would not send his son as a hostage,
 nor could he (so he said), now that he had col-
 lected so vast a force, live upon the estates which,

carefully husbanded, might have sufficed for his previous wants. No! He would keep his men about him, till some great success, or some great catastrophe, had decided the quarrel between him and Zeno.

The Emperor therefore had no resource but to prosecute the war with vigour. The dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and the East (representing the whole of Asia Minor and Syria) were emptied of their legions, which came flocking to Constantinople. Waggons were procured for the transport of arms, draught oxen were bought, corn and all other necessities for a campaign were laid up in store, and the great Illus himself was expected to take the command.

For some reason or other, not Illus, but his brother-in-law Martinianus, a much weaker man, was named general. As the imperial army, consisting probably of a number of discordant elements without cohesion or mutual reliance, was rapidly becoming disorganized under the nominal command of this man, Zeno determined to accelerate matters by urging the Amal into action. He sent him a pressing message, urging him to do some deed against the son of Triarius, which might show that he was not unworthily styled *Magister* of the Roman army. Theodoric however, who was no doubt aware of the recent attempt to resume negotiations with his rival, refused to stir until the Emperor and Senate had both bound themselves by a solemn oath to make no treaty with the son of Triarius.

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.
478.

Imperial
prepara-
tions.

Theodoric
the Amal
urged into
action,

BOOK IV. He then arranged a plan of campaign, which in-
 CH. 3.
 478. volved a march with all his forces from Marcianople (*Shumla*) to the Gates of the Balkan. There he was to be met by the *Magister Militum* of Thrace¹, with 2000 cavalry and 10,000 heavy-armed soldiers. After crossing the Balkans he was also to be met in the valley of the Hebrus and near Hadrianople by 20,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, troops being drawn, if necessary, from Heraclea (*Monastir*) and all the cities and garrisons near Constantinople.

and left
 unsupported.

All these junctions of troops were promised: none of them were performed; and thus Theodoric, who punctually fulfilled his share of the bargain, found himself, after an exhausting march over the rugged Balkan country, with only his Goths, unsupported by the imperial troops, in presence of his enemy, who was encamped on the steep and unassailable cliff of Sondis². A pitched battle was impossible; but skirmishes constantly took place between the soldiers of both armies, when engaged in getting fodder for their horses. Every day, too, did the son of Triarius ride within earshot of his rival's camp, and pour forth a stream of insulting epithets on the head of 'that perjurer, that enemy and traitor to the whole Gothic race, Theodoric. Silly and conceited boy! He does

Insulting
 words of
 Theodoricus
 Triarii.

¹ So, on the authority of the *Notitia Orientis*, cap. vii, I would translate *ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης*. There was no 'Dux Thraciae.'

² Situation unknown. Manso's conjecture, 'Succi,' does not meet with approval.

not understand the disposition of the Romans, nor see through their design, which is to let the Goths tear one another to pieces, while they sit by and watch the game at their ease, sure of the real victory, whichever side is defeated. And we the while, turning our hands against our brethren, like the men who in that story of theirs sprang from the seed of Cadmus, are to be left few in number, an easy prey to the machinations of the Romans. Oh, son of Theudemir! which of all the promises have they kept by which they lured you hither? Which of all their cities opened her gates to you and feasted your soldiers? They have enticed you to your own destruction, and the penalty of your rashness and stupidity will fall on the people whom you have betrayed.'

These words, frequently repeated, produced their effect on the Amal's followers, who came to him, and said that indeed the adversary spoke reasonably, and that it was absurd for them to continue an internecine conflict with their kinsmen for the benefit of the common enemy. The son of Triarius, perceiving that his words were finding entrance, came next day to the crest of an overhanging hill, and thence shouted forth his upbraidings to Theodoric: 'Oh, scoundrel! why art thou thus leading my brethren to perdition? Why hast thou made so many Gothic women widows? Where are now their husbands? What has become of all that abundance of good things which filled their waggons, when they first set forth

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.
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The Amal's
troops in-
sist on a
coalition
between
the two
Theodorics.

BOOK IV. from their homes to march under thy standard?

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Then did they own their two or three horses apiece. Now, without a horse, they must needs limp on foot through Thrace, following thee as if they were thy slaves. Yet they are free men, and of no worse lineage than thine. Ay! and the time hath been when these penniless wanderers would use a bushel to measure their *aurei*.' When the army heard these too truly taunting words, men and women alike came clamouring round the tent of Theodoric, 'Peace, peace with our brethren! Else will we quit thy standards, and take our own road to safety.' The king, who was truly head of a limited monarchy, recognising an expression of that popular voice to which he must defer, came down (doubtless with difficulty smothering his wrath) to the banks of the stream appointed for a conference, met and consulted with the man who had just been calling him a scoundrel and a boy, settled the conditions of peace, and then took and received a solemn oath, that there should be no war thenceforward between the son of Theudemir and the son of Triarius.

Joint embassy to the Emperor.

The reconciled Gothic chiefs sent a joint embassy to the Emperor, demanding, on the part of the son of Triarius, the fulfilment of all promises made to him by Leo, the arrears of pay due for past years, and the restoration of his relatives [the family of Aspar] if still alive, if not, an oath concerning them from Illus, and any of the Isaurian chiefs to whose keeping they might have been con-

signed¹. The claim of the Amal prince (mingled with complaints of the broken promises of the Emperor) was, that some district should be assigned him for a permanent dwelling-place, that rations of corn should be provided for his people till they could reap their own harvest, and that some of the imperial revenue officers, who were called *Domestici*, should be immediately sent to take account of (and no doubt to legalise) the requisitions which the Goths were then levying on the province. If this were not done, the Amal said, he could not prevent his men, famished and destitute, from supplying their needs in any way they could. This last request curiously illustrates Theodoric's desire not to sink into a mere chief of lawless plunderers, nor to make an irretrievable breach with the Roman *civilitas*.

To the son of Triarius, Zeno does not appear to have vouchsafed any reply. He answered the Amal's complaints with a wrangling '*Tu quoque* : ' 'You said nothing at first about requiring the help of imperial troops to beat your rival ; that was an afterthought, when you had already made up your mind to negotiate with him, and you hoped to betray our soldiers into a snare. So, at least, our generals thought, and that was why they would not carry into effect the proposed combinations.

Zeno's
reply.

¹ Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄρα τεθήκασι, τὸν Ἰλλοῦν περὶ τούτων ἐπομόσαι καὶ ἀλλοις, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν Ἰσαύρων πιστεύει. What could be the object of asking for such an oath? Was it in order to furnish legal proof of their death, and enable the son of Triarius to enter on their inheritance?

BOOK IV. Nevertheless, if you will even yet be faithful to our
 CH. 3.
 478. cause, and will vanquish the son of Triarius, you shall receive £40,000 in gold and £35,000 in silver, paid down, a yearly revenue of £6,000, and the daughter of Olybrius (sprung from the mighty Theodosius) or some other noble Byzantine damsel to wife.'

Zeno's
 vacillation.

Though aided by high dignities bestowed on most of the Gothic emissaries, all these attempts to break the league between the two Theodorics proved fruitless, and the Emperor saw himself once more compelled to face the reality of war. He again called out his army and announced that he in person would share the hardships, and applaud the valour, of his soldiers. The announcement that, after a century of seclusion in his palace, the Roman Augustus was going to be once more, in the antique sense of the word, an *Imperator*, roused indescribable enthusiasm in the troops. The very men who had before paid large sums to the generals for exemption from military duty, now gladly paid for liberty to fight. The scouts who had been sent forward by the son of Triarius were taken prisoners: a portion of the Amal's guard, who had pressed forward to the Long Wall, were bravely repulsed by the soldiers who were guarding it. This was the outlook one day, and it shows us what immense recuperative energy yet lay in the Roman state-system, if only it had been guided by worthy hands. The next day, all was changed by the palace-bred sloth and cowardice of the

Emperor. It was announced that Zeno would not go forth to the campaign. The soldiers heard the tidings with indignation. They gathered together in angry clusters, and began taunting one another with cowardice. 'Are you men?' they said; 'have you arms in your hands, and will you patiently endure such womanish softness, by which city after city has been sacrificed, and now the whole fair Empire of Rome is going to ruin, and every one who pleases may have a hack at it?' The temper of the troops was so mutinous that by the advice of Martinianus (himself, as has been said, an incompetent commander) they were ordered to disperse into winter quarters, the pretext being alleged that there was a prospect of peace with the son of Triarius. The dispersion was successfully effected, but, as they went, the soldiers growled over their own folly in quitting the neighbourhood of the capital before they had bestowed the purple on some man worthy to wear it and able to save the state.

However, if Zeno failed to exhibit the courage of the lion, he possessed, and could use with some success, the cunning of the fox. The hope of dissolving the Gothic coalition by intrigue proved to be not illusory. He had tried it before, at the wrong end, when he dangled his bribes and his heiresses before the eyes of the loyal-hearted son of Theudemir. He now sent his ambassadors to the son of Triarius, to see upon what terms he could buy peace with him. They arrived at a critical

BOOK I
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He wins
over
Theodoricus
Triarii and
dissolves
the coalition.

BOOK IV. moment. Theodoric the Amal had swooped down
 CH. 8.

479.

on the fertile country at the foot of Rhodope, was carrying off flocks and herds, expelling or slaying the cultivators and wasting their substance. The son of Triarius watched with grim delight these proceedings of 'the friend of the Romans, the son of Augustus:' but at the same time professed to mourn that the punishment was falling on the guiltless peasants, not on Zeno or Verina, whose happiness would not be interfered with, though *they* were reduced to the extreme of misery. In this mood the ambassadors found him: but all his newly-kindled and virtuous indignation against the Court, as well as his recently professed horror of Goth warring against Goth, vanished before the splendour of their offers. The promise of regular pay and rations to 13,000 Goths to be chosen by himself, the command of two *Scholæ*, the dignity of *Magister Praesentalis*¹, the re-grant of all the offices which he had held under Basiliscus, and the restitution of all his former property, these were the terms which detached the fervid German patriot from his young confederate. As for his relations (the family of Aspar) the Emperor returned a mysterious reply: 'If they were dead, it was of no use to say anything more about the subject; but if they were alive they too should receive their old possessions and go to dwell in some city which he would point out to them².' The nego-

¹ Either *Equitum* or *Peditum*.

² Is it possible that these men, like so many others who had

tiation was finally ratified on these lines. Money was sent for distribution among the Triarian Goths, and their leader stepped into all the dignities which were previously held by the Amal, but of which the latter was now formally divested. In this 'triangular duel' each combination had now been tried. 'Zeno and the Amal against the son of Triarius' had given place to 'the two Theodorics against Zeno,' which in its turn was now replaced by 'Zeno and the son of Triarius against the Amal.'

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Of the immediate effect of the announcement of this combination on the Amal king we have no information. We find him, however, early in the next year, exasperated by recent losses, bursting, 479. an angry fugitive, into Macedonia, burning towns and killing garrisons without quarter. Stobi having been thus severely handled, he pressed on to Thessalonica. The inhabitants of that city, ever an excitable and suspicious people, conceived an idea that the Emperor and the Prefect meant to surrender them, unresisting, to the Barbarian. A kind of revolution took place in the city. The statues of Zeno were thrown down, and the mob were on the point of tearing the Prefect to pieces and setting his palace on fire. At the critical moment, the intervention of the clergy and of some

Theodoric
invades
Mace-
donia.

provoked the resentment of the Isaurian party, had been sent under the care of Illus to some stronghold in the Asiatic highlands, and that Zeno himself did not know what had become of them?

BOOK IV. of the most respected citizens averted these crimes.

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The populace, who were asked to confide the defence of their city to whom they would, took the keys of Thessalonica from the Prefect and handed them to the Archbishop, whose zeal against the Arian invaders they doubtless felt to be a sufficient guarantee for the tenacity of his defence. A civic guard was formed, a commander was chosen, and his orders were obeyed. In perusing the few lines which the Byzantine historian devotes to these events we might fancy ourselves to be reading the story of Paris in the early days of 'Madame Ligue.'

Another
embassy
from Zeno
to the
Amal.

Meanwhile Zeno, finding himself not strong enough to crush Theodoric, determined at least to soothe him, and to avert, if possible, the conflagration of towns and the slaughter of garrisons. He sent an embassy (consisting of his relative Artemidorus and of a certain Phocas who had been his secretary when he himself filled the office of *Magister Militum*¹) to remind Theodoric of past favours and dignities conferred upon him, a barbarian by birth, in full reliance on his loyalty. 'All these advantages he had lost, through no fault of the Emperor, by giving heed to the crafty suggestions of a man who was their common enemy. But let him at least, in order not to make his case more desperate, refrain from inflicting on

¹ Ἀρτεμίδωρον πέμπει καὶ Φωκᾶν τὸν ὅτε ἦν στρατηγὸς γραμματεὺς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντα. We get the fact of the relationship between Artemidorus and Zeno from Cassiodorus, Var. i. 43.

the cities of a powerful nation such injuries as it would be impossible to forgive, and let him send an embassy to obtain from the goodness of the Emperor such requests as he could reasonably prefer.' Theodoric, whose own better instincts were ever on the side of civilisation, issued orders that his soldiers should abstain from conflagration and from needless bloodshed, though they were still to live at free-quarters in Macedonia. His messengers returned with the Emperor's ambassadors to Constantinople, and were graciously received there. He himself moved with his army to Heraclea.

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This city, the *Monastir* of our own day, was situated on the great Egnatian Way, a little less than half-way from Thessalonica on the Aegean to Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic. 'Built at the western edge of a noble plain, surrounded by the most exquisitely shaped hills, in a recess or bay formed by two very high mountains, between which magnificent snow-capped barriers is the pass to Akridha¹,' and with one of the main branches of the Axios (*Vardar*) flowing through it, 'a broad and shifting torrent, crossed by numerous bridges,' the city has been for centuries, under Caesar and Sultan alike, a highly important centre of civil and military administration for the great plain of Macedonia. Of that plain, indeed, it does not strictly form a part, being raised as it were

Theodoric
at Hera-
clea.

¹ Lear (*Journals of a Landscape-painter in Albania*, p. 51). This book and Tozer's 'Highlands of Turkey' furnish many interesting pictures of the cities on the Egnatian Way.

BOOK IV. a step above it towards the central highlands, but
 CH. 3. the great chain of Scardus stretching behind it (to
 479. which belong the snow-capped barriers mentioned
 above) far more decisively separates it from the
 western regions, which were then known as Epirus
 and Illyria, now as Albania.

Illness of
 his sister.

The rich presents of the bishop of Heraclea to Theodoric and his followers preserved that city for the present from pillage. He made it his headquarters, and was in fact detained there for a considerable time by the sickness of his sister, a sickness which in the end proved fatal. This fact illustrates the domestic aspect of the events which we are now following. It was not an army merely, it was an aggregation of families that was roaming over the regions of Thrace and Macedon, and suffering, too often, the hardships so insultingly portrayed by the son of Triarius.

Adamantius arrives
 with Zeno's
 offers.

While Theodoric was at Heraclea the answer of Zeno arrived. Theodoric had urged that the ambassador should be a man of high rank and large powers, as he could not undertake to keep the masses of his followers from lawless pillage, if negotiations were unnecessarily protracted. In compliance with this request the Emperor selected as his ambassador, Adamantius the son of Vivianus, patrician, ex-prefect of the city, and consul¹. Adamantius was empowered to offer the Goths the district of Pantalia (a little south of Sardica, the modern *Sofia*) for their habitation, and a sum of £8000 as

¹ I. e. 'Consul Suffectus.' His name is not in the *Fasti*.

subsistence-money, till they reaped their first harvests in their new settlement. The Emperor's secret motive in selecting this region was, that the Amal would there act, to some extent, as a restraint on the son of Triarius (of whose precise location we are not informed), while, on the other hand, if he himself relapsed into disloyalty, he could be crushed by the converging forces of the Thracian and Illyrian provinces. Possibly Theodoric saw the imperial game: at any rate he was not eager to accept the Pantalian settlement.

For, meanwhile, another idea had been ripening in his brain. Thrace, Moesia, Macedon,—all these districts were impoverished by the marching to and fro of Romans and Barbarians for the last hundred years. Why should he not cross those soaring Scardus ranges on the western horizon, descend upon the rich and flourishing cities of *Epirus Nova*, which (except perhaps in an occasional visit from Gaiseric) had not known an invader for centuries, and there, carving out a kingdom for himself, bring the long wanderings of the Ostrogoths to an end? With this view he commenced a correspondence with Sigismund, a wealthy landowner near Dyrrhachium, who had formerly served in the imperial army, and, though a Goth, was supposed to be loyal to the Romans. This Sigismund was nephew of a certain Edwin¹,

¹ Ἀνεψιὸς δὲ ἦν οὗτος Αἰδοίγγου, Βηρίνης τε μάλιστα οὗτος οἰκειοτάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων δομεστικῶν ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντος, μεγάλην τιὰν οὖσαν τῶν περὶ βασιλεία.

BOOK IV. (with what pleasure do we come upon these true
CH. 3.

479.

Teutonic names in the Byzantine historian's pages!), a man who had great influence with the empress-mother Verina, and had held the high office of captain of the *Domestici*. To him, then, Theodoric sent, reminding him of the tie of relationship which existed between them, and begging his help in obtaining possession of Dyrrhachium and the rest of Epirus, 'that he might thus end his long roving, and having established himself in a city defended by walls, might there receive whatever Fortune should send him.' Sigismund, notwithstanding his presumed philo-Romanism, elected to live under a ruler of his own nation rather than under the Emperor, and at once, repairing to Dyrrhachium, propounded to all his acquaintances there the friendly counsels of panic. 'The barbarian was certainly coming among them: the Emperor acquiesced in his doing so: arrangements for that end were at that very moment being concerted with Adamantius. He would advise them, as a friend and neighbour, to use the short interval still left, in removing their families and most precious possessions to the shelter of some other city or some island, before the Goths were upon them.' By these suggestions, coupled with hints of the Emperor's displeasure, if the city were defended against his will, and judiciously aided by the continual fabrication of fresh and more alarming rumours, he persuaded not only the chief citizens, but even two thousand soldiers who were stationed

there, to flock out of the city, and was soon able to send word to Theodoric inviting him to claim an unresisting prize.

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The messenger arrived, just when the death of his sister had set Theodoric free to march from Heraclea. He called for a parley with the inhabitants of that city, who, notwithstanding the absence of outrages, had taken the alarm, and gone forth to a stronghold in the neighbourhood¹. To these refugees he offered that he would withdraw with all his people from the town, if they would supply him with a considerable quantity of corn and wine as provision for the journey. They declined, saying that their own stores in so small a fortress were scanty; and Theodoric in a rage burned the greater part of Heraclea, all deserted as it was. He then set forth upon his westward journey over the wild and rugged Scardus Mountains, which none of the enemy had dreamed of his attempting to cross. A few Gothic horsemen, sent forward to secure the heights, struck such terror into the garrison of a fortress, erected probably on a shoulder of the snow-crowned Mount Peristeri² on purpose to guard the road, that they gave no thought to the defence of the position, but fled from it helter-skelter. Quite reassured as to the success of his expedition by this disgraceful cowardice, Theodoric marched

He sets
forth to
cross
Mount
Scardus.

¹ Was this on the same site where now stands the monastery of Bukova 'several hundred feet above the town' which gives Monastir its modern name? (Tozer, i. 170.)

² This being the mountain which commands the immediate neighbourhood of Monastir (Tozer, i. 183).

BOOK IV. on, with few or no precautions, in joyous boldness
 CH. 3. of heart, through the wild and lonely country
 479. which the Via Egnatia traverses in this part of
 its course. This was the order of march: Theodoric himself at the head, pushing cheerily forward, eager to see and to surprise the first city on the other side of the mountains; Soas, 'the greatest of all the generals under him,' in the centre; and Theudimund, brother of Theodoric, commanding the rear. It was no slight sign of the King's confidence in the Roman unwillingness to fight or to pursue, that he dared to give to the waggoners and the drivers of the beasts of burden, the signal to follow him into this rocky region, where, even against unencumbered troops, brave men might easily, in a hundred places, have 'made a new Thermopylae.'

Theodoric
 at Ochrida.

Soon after crossing the highest part of the Scardus range (about 3000 feet high), Theodoric and his men came in sight of the broad expanse of what is now called the Lake of Ochrida¹, larger than any other piece of water between the Danube and the Aegean. At its northern edge rose conspicuous from afar a steep and isolated cliff², dominating the lake and all the surrounding country. Here, where now stands the castle of Ochrida, stood then the town and fortress of Lychnidus, unassailable by storm of armed men, and moreover well supplied with stores of corn, and with abundance

¹ Or Akhrida.

² Which Lear compares to the castle-rock of Nice.

of fountains springing up in its enclosure. At this place, therefore, the eagerness of the young Gothic chief was doomed to meet with disappointment. Even Roman soldiers of the fifth century could maintain such a post as this: and Lychnidus refused to surrender. Its garrison did not, however, attempt to bar his way, and when, descending into the valley of the rock-chafed Genusus, after two days' march he reached Scampae¹, he found that city (the modern *Elbassan*) left bare of all inhabitants in the midst of its beautiful plain and rich olive-groves, a prey ready to his hand. A day and a-half or two days more brought him to the shores of the Adriatic, half-islanded in whose blue waters, on its long and slender promontory, stood the main object of his quest, the usually rich and busy city of Dyrrhachium.

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Dyrrhachium, which our Greek historian insists on calling by its old name of Epidamnus, and which we know as Durazzo, is a city of many associations for the classical student. In the pages of Thucydides it figures as the cause, or pretext, of the Peloponnesian War. Caesar faithfully records the severe check which he met with before its walls, and which had well-nigh turned the current of the Civil War and changed the whole after-history of Europe. Owing to the shortness of the crossing between Brundisium and Dyrrhachium the Epirote town was a place familiar to the memory of many

Past history of Dyrrhachium.

¹ Or Scampia, whence probably *Scumbi*, the modern name of the Genusus.

BOOK IV. a Roman general setting forth to administer an
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Eastern province, of many a Greek man of letters, with his face set westward, coming to seek his fortune in Rome. As far as Theodoric is concerned, but little of historical interest is added by his connection with the town. Apparently, the discouraging counsels of Sigismund had produced all their intended effect, and the place was already abandoned, for we are simply told that 'pushing on from Scampae he took Epidamnus.' But it may be allowable to conjecture that now, finding himself beside the waters of Hadria, knowing that he was within fifty miles of Apulia, and perhaps seeing the cloud-like form of Italy in the western horizon, he may then have dreamed the dream, which became a reality when all that fair land from Alps to Aetna was his own.

Expostulations of Adamantius.

When news of this unexpected turn in affairs reached Adamantius, who, as has been said, was especially charged with the conduct of the treaty with Theodoric, he sent one of the mounted messengers, who, being under the orders of the *Magister Officiorum*, were called *Magistriani*¹, to expostulate with the Gothic king for resuming hostilities while negotiations were still pending. He entreated Theodoric not to take any further steps in the path of hostility to the Emperor; above all things not

¹ Joannes Lydus, who belonged to the rival department of the Praetorian Prefect, pours forth all his gall on 'the pretentious and inane verbosity of the so-called *Magistriani*' (ἡ τῶν λεγομένων μαγιστριανῶν κομποφακελλορρημοσύνη); *De Magist.* iii. 7.

to fit out a naval expedition in the harbour of Dyrrhachium, but to send a trusty messenger who should assure him of a safe-conduct, going and returning, if he came in person to renew the conferences. In order to be nearer to the spot, he himself left Thessalonica and came westward, two days' journey¹, along the Egnatian Way to Edessa.

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Edessa (now *Vodena*) has derived both its ancient and modern name² from the wealth of waters with which it is encircled. It stands on a curving shelf of rock, overlooking the whole wide plain of Lower Macedonia; and the river Lydias, dividing itself behind the city into several branches, comes foaming over this rocky screen in innumerable cascades, which remind a traveller, familiar with Italian scenery, of Tivoli³. Behind the city, tier on tier, rise three ranges of magnificent mountains, Scardus himself apparently dominating all. The fact that it commands the chief pass leading into these Macedonian highlands is no doubt the reason why the early Macedonian kings fixed their capital there; as it was also the reason why, in this awkward crisis of the Gothic campaign, Adamantius selected it as the scene of his council of war.

Adamantius at Edessa.

At this council he met Sabinianus, a man, as we shall see, of somewhat peculiar and stubborn character, but who, as a skilful general and a firm

Conference with Sabinianus.

¹ Sixteen hours according to Tozer (ii. 365).

² Edessa from *bedu*, Phrygian for water; Vodena from *voda*, Slavonic for the same (Tozer, i. 157).

³ Lear, p. 38.

BOOK IV. disciplinarian, towered far above the dead level of
 CH. 3. inefficiency, reached by most of the commanders of

479.

that time¹. He also met there Philoxenus, a Byzantine official of high rank, who had been employed in some of the earlier negotiations with Theodoric. After opening the imperial letters, appointing Sabinianus *Magister Utriusque Militiae per Illyricum*², they proceeded to discuss the military position, which they found truly deplorable. Sabinianus had with him only a small band of soldiers, consisting chiefly of his own followers and dependants, while the bulk of the regular army, such as it was, was scattered through the cities of Thrace, or followed the banners of Onöulph, brother of Odovacar and murderer of Harmatius, who still held some high rank in the imperial service. They could only resolve to send notices of the appointment of Sabinianus in all directions, and summon the troops to his standard.

Negotiations for a conference with Theodoric.

Meanwhile the horseman sent by Adamantius to Theodoric returned, bringing with him a Gothic priest who had been sent to ensure his safe passage through the barbarian ranks³. They took the

¹ 'Sabinianus magnus Illyricianae utriusque militiae ductor creatus, curiam fragilem, collapsumque justum Reipublicae censum, vel praepaventem fovit, vel dependentem tutatus est. Disciplinae praeterea militaris ita optimus institutor coercitorque fuit, ut priscis Romanorum ductoribus comparetur. Theodoricum idem Sabinianus regem apud Graeciam debacchantem, ingenio magis quam virtute deterruit.' Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 479.

² Marcellinus (see above).

³ 'Having with him a priest (*iepéa*) of the barbarians whom

priest with them, and at once proceeded to Lychnidus (*Ochrida*), which still held out for the Empire; and were met at the gates by the magistrates and chief citizens of that strong and wealthy city by the lake. Negotiations followed for an interview with Theodoric, who was asked either to come, himself, to some place in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, or to allow Adamantius to visit him at Dyrrhachium, sending his lieutenant Soas and another eminent Goth, to be kept as pledges for the ambassador's safe return. The two Goths were sent, but ordered not to advance beyond Scampia (*Elbassan*) till Sabinianus should take a solemn oath that, on the return of Adamantius, they too should be dismissed safe and sound. This was indeed negotiating at arm's length, but no doubt Theodoric, during his ten years' residence at Byzantium, had learned how far it was safe to trust to Roman honour. To this proposition, however, Sabinianus returned an answer, as to which we would gladly know whether it was a mere piece of contrariety, or whether it was founded on loyalty to the Teacher who said 'Swear not at all.' He declared that he had never in his life sworn about any matter, and would not now break a resolution of this kind, which he had formed long ago. Adamantius begged him to make some concession to the Christians call presbyter (*πρεσβύτερος*). Photius says that Malchus was 'not outside the Christian religion' (*οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ θιάσου*). But it is not easy to understand why any writer, whether Christian or heathen, should think it needful to explain such very obvious words as these.

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BOOK IV. the necessity of the times, and not to allow all
CH. 3.
 479. the negotiations to collapse for want of those few words from him ; but all that he would reply was, 'I know my duty, and shall not deviate from the rule which I have laid down for myself.'

Adamantius at the
 torrent's
 edge.

Finding it impossible to overcome the scruples of this obstinate Non-Juror, Adamantius, whose heart was set on fulfilling his mission, started at evening ; and by a series of difficult mountain-paths, on which, it was said, no horse-hoof had yet trodden, he worked round to a steep hill overlooking Dyrhachium, but separated from it by a precipitous ravine through which a deep river ran. Halting here, he sent messengers for Theodoric, who came with a few horsemen to the river's brink. Adamantius, having posted some men on the crown of the hill to prevent a surprise, came down to his side of the river. Theodoric dismissed his attendants, and the two chiefs conversed with one another alone, the mountain torrent foaming and brawling between them. The Gothic King unfolded his complaints against the Roman Emperor, complaints which the Byzantine historian who records them considers well founded.

Complaints
 of Theo-
 doric.

'I was willing enough,' said he, 'to dwell quietly outside the limits of Thrace, in my Moesian home, almost on the very confines of Scythia, obeying the Emperor and harming no man. Who brought me forth from my retirement, and insisted on my taking the field against the son of Triarius ? The Emperor and his ministers. They promised that

the Master of the Soldiery for Thrace should join me with an army : he never made his appearance. Then that Claudius, the steward of the Gothic funds, should meet me with the pay for my troops¹: he, too, was invisible. Thirdly, the guides who were assigned to me, instead of taking the smooth and easy roads which would have brought me straight to the enemy's camp, led me up and down all sorts of break-neck places, where, if the enemy had attacked me, with all my long train of horses and waggons and camp furniture, I must inevitably have been destroyed. Thus brought at a disadvantage into the presence of our enemies, I was obliged to make peace with them. And in truth I owe them great thanks for having saved me alive, when owing to your treachery they might easily have annihilated me.'

Adamantius tried to answer these just complaints. He reminded Theodoric that he, when quite a young man, had received from the Emperor the dignities of Patrician and *Magister Militum*, dignities which were generally reserved for old and long-tried public servants. For these and many other favours he was indebted to the Emperor, whom he ought to look up to and reverence as a

BOOK IV.

CH. 3.

479.

Reply of
Adamantius.

¹ This I presume must be the translation of *ἐπεῖτα καὶ Κλαύδιον τὸν τοῦ Γοτθικοῦ ταμίαν σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ ἤξειν*. The 'Gothicum' (somewhat like our *Danegeld*) must be a fund specially set apart for buying off Gothic depredations: the 'Xenicum' the pay of foreign mercenaries, as distinguished from that of the Roman legionaries.

BOOK IV. father ¹. His recent conduct, however, was quite
 CH. 3.
 479. intolerable. By the artifice of sham negotiations

he had contrived to break out of Thrace, in which the Romans, had they been so minded, could easily have penned him up between the rivers and mountains by which that province was girdled, and had attacked the splendid and flourishing cities of Epirus. It was impossible for the Romans to abandon these cities to him, and equally impossible for him permanently to resist the Romans. Let him therefore go into Dardania ², where was a wide and pleasant and fertile country, absolutely longing for cultivators, and there see all his followers well nourished, while at the same time he lived in peace with the Empire.

Theodoric's
 rejoinder.

Theodoric replied with a solemn asseveration that he himself would gladly accede to this proposition; but his army, worn out with long marches, must be allowed to repose for the winter in their present quarters. When spring came, he would be willing to deposit all his goods and all the non-combatant population in some city to be indicated by the Emperor, to surrender his mother and sister as hostages of his fidelity, and then to march with all speed into Thrace, with 6000 of his bravest warriors. With these and the troops quartered in Illyricum and such other forces as the Emperor

¹ Probably an allusion to Theodoric's adoption as son-in-arms by Zeno.

² A district near the modern Sofia, practically equivalent to the previously offered Pantalia.

might please to send him, he would undertake to destroy every Goth in Thrace¹. A strange promise certainly to be made by this, the ideal Teutonic hero. Of course, as his own followers were all now quartered in Epirus, this sweeping destruction was intended only for the bands which followed the son of Triarius; but even so, considering his recent alliance with that chief and the appeal to their common Gothic nationality on which that alliance had been based, one would be glad to think that the Byzantine historian had misreported the proposals of the son of Theudemir. The reward which he claimed for these services was that he should again receive his old office of *Magister Militum*, the insignia of which should be stripped off from the hated son of Triarius, and that he should be received into the capital, 'there to live as a citizen after the Roman fashion².' A striking evidence this of Theodoric's genuine appreciation of that '*civilitas*' which we shall hereafter find so persistently commended by his most famous minister³. An indication that his thoughts were already turning, if not yet with any steadiness of purpose, towards Italy, is furnished by a still more startling proposal, that if the Emperor would but give the word, he would march off into Dalmatia in order to restore the exiled Nepos—a kinsman, be it remembered, of Zeno—to the Western throne.

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.
479.

¹ Τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Γότθους ἀναλώσειν ἅπαντας.

² Καὶ εἰσδεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν πολιτεύσοντα τρόπον.

³ Cassiodorus.

BOOK IV. To all these overtures Adamantius as yet could
CH. 3. only reply, that he had no power to treat while
479. Theodoric remained in Epirus. But let him ab-
They part. stain from offensive warfare, and all these matters
 should be laid before the Emperor for his decision.
 And thus they parted.

Signal dis-
 aster of
 the Goths.

While these negotiations were proceeding be-
 tween Adamantius and the Gothic King, the troops
 summoned to the standard of Sabinianus had been
 flocking in to the lake-mirrored fortress of Lychni-
 dus, with an alacrity rare in those degenerate days.
 Word was brought to the Roman general that a
 large detachment of the barbarians was descending,
 in leisurely fashion, the Candavian range of hills
 which intervene between Dyrrhachium and Lych-
 nidus. They were encumbered with baggage and
 a long train of waggons; and the rear of the army,
 commanded by Theudimund brother of Theodoric,
 had not yet reached the plain. To render the
 prize more tempting, it was stated that the mother
 of Theodoric and Theudimund was also with the
 rear-guard. The conscience of Sabinianus, too
 scrupulous to swear, could not resist the oppor-
 tunity of striking so easy a blow, although the
 pending negotiations of Adamantius rendered such
 a course somewhat dishonourable. He sent a small
 body of infantry round over the mountains, with
 precise instructions when and where to attack the
 barbarians. He himself started after supper with
 the main body of his army, and fell upon the Goths
 at dawn. Surprised and panic-stricken, Theudi-

mund fled with his mother into the plain, breaking down, as he went, a bridge by which they had crossed a very deep ravine. This precaution secured their own retreat, but prevented the escape of the rest of their countrymen. The latter at first, with the courage of despair, fought against the cavalry of Sabinianus. But when the other body of troops, the infantry who had been sent round, appeared over the crest of the mountain, there was no longer any hope of escape. Most of the Goths were cut to pieces, but more than 5000 were taken prisoners, the more nobly-born of whom were kept in ward, no doubt for the sake of their ransoms, while the rank and file were assigned as slaves to the soldiers, among whom also the booty was divided. Two thousand Gothic waggons fell into the hands of the Romans. Only a short time before, Sabinianus had issued requisitions on the Macedonian cities for a large number of those vehicles. These requisitions were at once countermanded, and indeed, after the wants of the army were fully supplied, so many waggons remained that the blaze of their burning soon lighted up the defiles of Mount Candavia, over which the general despaired of transporting them in safety.

On the return of Sabinianus to Lychnidus, he found Adamantius there, having just come back from his mission to Theodoric. Each sent an account of his operations to the Emperor, Adamantius pleading for peace, Sabinianus magnifying his recent success and beseeching Zeno to make

BOOK I
CH. 3.
479.

Report to
the Em-
peror.

BOOK IV. no peace with the barbarian, who might certainly

CH. 8.

479.

now be driven out of the province, if not utterly crushed. The large boasts of the general told on the unstable mind of the Emperor, who decided that war was more honourable than peace, and directed Sabinianus to carry on uncompromising hostilities against Theodoric with all the troops that he could muster. For some unexplained reason there was associated with him in this commission a man named Gento, a Goth by birth, who had married a wealthy Roman lady of the province of Epirus, and who possessed considerable local influence.

The war to
be con-
tinued.

Adamantius, making a virtue of necessity, assembled the troops, addressed them in an eloquent harangue, praised their past valour, and exhorted them to a continued exercise of that peculiarly Roman quality, courage. He then read them the Emperor's proclamation, and stimulated them with the usual promises of special imperial favour for such soldiers as should distinguish themselves by their zeal. He was welcomed with shouts of applause, and had the gratification of making a very successful oration. 'And so,' says Malchus, surely with a slight touch of scorn, 'Adamantius disappeared, not having done anything besides.'

The story
left half-
told.

From this point onwards we have no further information from Malchus concerning the history of Theodoric, and our most valuable spring of knowledge thus dries up at once. The excuse for narrating so minutely the events of a few months in the life of the Ostrogothic king must be that, for

no other part of a life extending over seventy-two years, and rich in momentous deeds, have we a history, for fulness, clearness, and vividness of colour, at all comparable to these fragments of the work of a Byzantine rhetorician fortunately preserved by the industry of a literary emperor. Compelled as we are to trace, by mere conjecture, the vague outlines of the history of Theodoric for the next nine years, we must conclude that for some reason or other his attempt to establish himself in Epirus proved a failure. Possibly he was too much weakened, and the provincials too much encouraged, by the battle of the Candavian Mountains, for him to maintain himself with force in the midst of a hostile population. Possibly also it was not altogether safe for him to relinquish entirely his communications with the Lower Danube, across which may have flowed the streams of Teutonic migration constantly refilling his wasted ranks.

The narrative returns for a brief space to his rival, the son of Triarius. At the time of the insurrection of Marcian (which occurred probably a few months after the Amal's invasion of Epirus), he marched with great alacrity to the gates of Constantinople¹. It was easy to see, however, that this promptness proceeded from no exuberance of loyalty towards Zeno, but rather showed an inclination on the part of the Goth to fight for his own hand. The Emperor sent to thank

¹ Marcellinus Comes says that he came to Anaplus, at the fourth milestone from the city.

BOOK IV. him for his eagerness, but also to beg him to return
CH. 3. without entering the city, lest he should awaken
479. a fresh spasm of panic in the minds of the citizens,
only just settling down after the exciting scenes of
the Marcianic war. The son of Triarius replied,
almost in the words of his namesake, that he him-
self would gladly comply with the Emperor's com-
mand; but his army was large and unruly and he
feared that they would not obey the signal of retreat
without tasting the pleasures of the capital. Pri-
vately, he reckoned not only on the feeble state of
the fortifications, but yet more on the hatred of the
mob of Constantinople to the Isaurian monopolisers
of the favour of the Court, a hatred so intense that
even the Goths might be welcomed as deliverers.
The Emperor knew that this was his calculation,
but knew also something of the desperation with
which his countrymen would cling (as, ten years
later, they did cling) to their hold of the capital.
On all grounds, therefore, it was of the utmost
importance to get the Gothic army quietly away
from the gates. Pelagius the Silentiary (the same
man who was afterwards sacrificed to the jealousy
of the dying Emperor) was sent, with great sums of
money for the son of Triarius and his followers,
with promises of larger presents to come, and threats
of the consequences of disobedience, to adjure them
to depart from the city. The avarice inherent in
the Gothic mind was roused by the actual sight of
the dazzling hoards, and the mission of Pelagius
was successful in inducing the barbarians to return.

Not so, however, with the demand for the surrender of Procopius the brother of Marcian, and Busalbus his friend. To this request the warrior gave a positive denial, saying 'that he would obey the Emperor in all other matters, but it was not a righteous thing for the Goths, nor for any one else, to betray suppliants, who had fled to them for protection, into the hands of enemies who were thirsting for their blood.' The two refugees accordingly lived for some time under his protection, cultivating a small estate. Eventually, as we have seen, they made their escape to Rome¹.

BOOK IV.

CH. 8.

479.

It is probably to this period that we must refer a statement made by Joannes Antiochenus that 'the trouble caused to the state by the pair of Theodoric² marching up and down and sacking the cities of Thrace compelled the Emperor to form an alliance with the *Bulgarians*, whose name then appears for the first time in history.' A Turanian people, possibly true Huns, without doubt one of the vast medley of tribes who thirty years before had followed the standards of Attila, the Bulgarians have, as is well known, in the course of centuries become thoroughly Slavonised, and looked to Russia, not to Turkestan, as the lode-star of their race. When the diplomatists of Europe, a few years ago, were revising the treaty of St. Stefano at Berlin, and discussing the respective claims of the big and the little Bulgaria, they were but working

First mention of the Bulgarians.

¹ Malchus apud Müller, iv. 131.

² Ἡ τῶν Θεοδορίων συζυγία (Jo. Ant. ap. Müller, iv. 619).

BOOK IV. out the latest terms of an equation which was first
 CH. 3. stated amid the vexations that 'the pair of Theo-
 479. doric' caused to the statesmen of Constantinople.

Theodoric
 the Amal
 and the
 Bulgarian
 king.

Theodoric the Amal appears, at some such time as this, to have met the leader of the Bulgarians in single combat, to have wounded him, but not mortally, and to have forced his nation to submit to humbling conditions of peace¹.

Theo-
 doricus
 Triarii
 again in re-
 volt,
 481.

Two years later (481) the son of Triarius, now apparently again in open enmity to Zeno, having obtained some successes against these Hunnish-Bulgarian allies of the Empire, drew near to the gates of Constantinople. He had all but succeeded in taking it, in which case perhaps the Eastern Empire would have survived her sister of the West only five years. But either the bravery of Illus², or a cleverly fomented conspiracy among his own followers³, obtained for the capital a fortunate reprieve. The Goth moved across the harbour to Galata; made another attempt, which again failed; marched ten miles up the Bosphorus, thinking to cross over into Bithynia; was worsted in a naval engagement, and then moved westwards into Thrace, meditating an expedition into the comparatively undevastated regions of Greece. He rode at the head of 30,000 Goths; and his wife Sigilda, his two brothers, and his son Recitach ac-

¹ This appears to be the meaning of an obscure and windy paragraph in Ennodius' Panegyric on Theodoric (Migne's Patrologia, lxi. 171).

² This is the cause alleged by Joan. Ant. (p. 619).

³ This is the account of Evagrius, iii. 25.

accompanied him. We see that in his case, as in BOOK IV
that of the other Theodoric, of Alaric, and no doubt CH. 3.
of many another Teutonic chieftain, the march of 481.
the general meant also the migration of his family.

Moving along the Egnatian Way, they had Death of Theodoricus Triarii.
reached a place on the Thracian coast more than
200 miles from Constantinople, which, in memory
of that savage Thracian king who in the days of
Hercules used to feed his horses on human flesh,
still bore the name of *The Stables of Diomed*.
Here the chief, one day wishing to take some
exercise, ordered his horse to be brought to his
tent-door. 'In those days, before the invention
of stirrups, a Roman noble generally mounted
with the assistance of a groom¹. The son of
Triarius, however, though probably past middle
life, disdained such effeminate habits, and always
vaulted to his seat unaided. This time, however,
before he was fairly astride of his horse, the
creature, which was wild and mettlesome, reared
up in the air and danced about on its hind legs².
Theodoric tried to get the mastery of the horse,
but did not dare to grasp the bridle lest he should
pull it over upon him. Rider and horse, thus
swaying backwards and forwards, came up to the
tent-door, before which a spear with a thong fitted
to it was hanging, in the fashion of the barbarians.

¹ 'Αναβολεύς, *strator*. It was in this capacity that the haughty Persian king, Sapor, made use of the captive emperor Valerian.

² 'Ο δὲ (ἵππος) ἀγελαῖός τις ὦν καὶ ὑβριστής . . . μετεωρίζει τῷ πρόσθε πόδε, τῷ ὀπισθίῳ μόνῃ ἀκροβατῶν. Even the Greek words suggest the idea of a horse in a circus.

BOOK IV. Jostled by his unruly steed against the spear, the
 CH. 3.
 —————
 481. chief was pierced by it in his side and forced to
 dismount. He took to his bed, and soon after
 died of the wound. Henceforward the undisputed
 right to the name Theodoric passes over to his
 Amal rival¹.

Dissen- Sigilda, wife of the dead chief, buried her
 sions in his husband by night. Dissensions broke out in his
 family. family. His two brothers tried to grasp the
 leadership and to oust his son, relying perhaps
 in part on a rumour which strangely obtained
 currency, that the death which has been so mi-
 nutely described was, after all, not accidental,
 but that Recitach, indignant at having received
 personal chastisement from his father, had re-
 paid the insult by parricide. The lad, however,
 bided his time. Before long he deprived his
 uncles of life, and grasped the leadership of the
 thirty thousand followers of his father—a leader-
 ship which he employed to inflict yet more cruel
 sufferings on the provincials of Thrace than those
 which they had endured at his father's hands².

Recitach
 his son
 slain by
 Theodoric.

After this he must have been reconciled to the
 Empire (there is a wearisome inconstancy both in
 the friendships and the enmities of these guerilla
 chiefs), for the last information that we have
 concerning him is that the Emperor Zeno, per-

¹ The death of Theodoric is told with great minuteness by
 Evagrius (probably quoting from Eustathius), iii. 25. The
 above account is taken almost verbatim from him.

² Joannes Antiochenus, pp. 619-620.

ceiving that Recitach was becoming disaffected through envy of Theodoric, ordered the Gothic king to destroy him, which he accordingly did, 'although Recitach was his cousin, having an old grudge against him because of the murder of his ——' (A defect in the MS. leaves us in doubt as to the nature of this old grievance.) Theodoric fulfilled the bloody commission by piercing his young rival under the fifth rib when he was on his way from the bath to the banquet¹. The murder of Recitach is one of the few blots on the generally fair fame of Theodoric.

BOOK IV.
CH. 3.
484

By the extinction of the house of Triarius, the Amal became the undisputed head of the Gothic nation in the Eastern peninsula. Thirty thousand men were added to his army, but these implied more than thirty thousand mouths for which he must find provisions. It was impossible for him, at the head of his roving bands of hungry warriors, to settle down into an orderly, hard-working *magister militum* in Thrace. For six years following the death of his elder rival, he vibrated to and fro with apparent absence of purpose between Romanism—using the word in a political sense—and barbarianism. In 482 he laid waste the two Macedonias and Thessaly, and plundered Larissa the capital of the latter province. In 483, 'being almost appeased by the munificence of the Emperor Zeno' (says Count Marcellinus, nearly

Theodoric vibrates between peace and war with the Empire, 481-487.

¹ 'In the suburb called Bonifaciana' (Jo. Ant. 620). I have not been able to identify this.

BOOK IV. our only authority here), 'and being made *Ma-*
 CH. 8. *gister Militiae Praesentis*, and designated as Consul

483. for the next year, he and his satellites kept for the time within bounds in the portion of Dacia Ripensis and Lower Moesia which had been allotted to him.' His head-quarters appear to have been Novae¹, on the Lower Danube. It is noteworthy that he was here within fifty miles of Nicopolis, the town which, 130 years before, had formed the centre of the settlement of the Lesser Goths who followed the guidance of 'their Moses,' the pure-souled and pious Ulfilas. Probably this portion of Moesia had never ceased to be strongly Gothic in the character of its population.

Theodoric
 Consul,
 484.

The next year (484) saw him in the full glory of *Consul Ordinarius*, wearing the toga, doubtless with the peculiar Gabine cincture which marked the Consulate, giving his name to the year, and liberating a slave by a stroke on the day of his inauguration. There are indications that now, at any rate, if not in the previous year, he took up his abode in Constantinople, and that his enjoyment of the pomps and luxuries of the capital, while his followers were suffering the pangs of hunger in their Danubian settlement, was not viewed with approbation by the Goths. They felt the contrast all the more keenly, since his authority, as became a consul and a *magister militum*, was strenuously exerted to check their old habits of plunder².

¹ Sistova ? or Novograd ?

² *Historia Miscella*, xv. 14.

It was in the year of Theodoric's consulship BOOK IV. that he soiled his hands with the blood of his CH. 3. kinsman Recitach, and received the adhesion of 484. his followers. It was in the same year that the Revolt of Illus. revolt of Illus broke out. Theodoric was at first ordered to march for its suppression, but he had not proceeded further than Nicomedia in Bithynia, when the timid and suspicious Zeno recalled him and his Goths, and committed the imperial cause to the championship of his strange allies from the middle Danube, the Rugians, under the command of a son of Aspar. This evidence of distrust no doubt alienated the high-mettled Gothic king. In 486 he broke out into open revolt and ravaged 486. a part of Thrace¹; and in the following year 487. with a large army (swollen no doubt by all the Triarian Goths) he came up to the very gates of Theodoric at the gates of Constantinople. Constantinople, and took the town of Melantias on the Sea of Marmora and only fourteen miles from the capital². He found himself, like countless other generals before and after him, unable to take the city of Constantine; but, before he returned to his head-quarters at Novae, the citizens saw the flames ascending from many towns and villages, and knew that they were kindled by the followers of the man who but three years before had ridden through their streets as a Roman Consul.

This endless vacillation between friendship and enmity to Rome was an unfruitful and unstates-

¹ Joannes Antiochenus, p. 621.

² Marcellinus Comes, s. a.

BOOK IV. manlike policy; and we may be sure that Theodoric recognised the fact as clearly as any one.

CH. 3.
488.

But the time was now ripe for the execution of another project, which would find full employment for all the warlike energies of his people, and which, if it succeeded, would give him a fixed and definite position among the rulers of the earth, and would exempt him from the necessity of marching up and down through the thrice-harried Thracian plains, to extort from the wretched provincials food for his almost equally wretched followers.

Scheme for
the invasion of
Italy
(Gothic
version).

The scheme shall first be told in the words of Jordanes, who without doubt is here quoting from Cassiodorus, the friend and minister of Theodoric: 'Meanwhile Theodoric, who was bound by covenant to the Empire of Zeno, hearing that his nation, abiding as we have said in Illyricum [?], were not too well supplied with the necessities of life while he was enjoying all the good things of the capital, and choosing rather, after the old manner of his race, to seek food by labour than to enjoy in luxurious idleness the fatness of the Roman realm while his people were living in hardship, made up his mind and spoke thus to the Emperor: "Though nothing is wanting to me for my service to your Empire, nevertheless, if Your Piety think fit, I pray you to hear freely the desire of my heart." Then, as was wont, leave was granted him to speak without reserve. "The Hesperian clime," said he, "which was

formerly subject to the rule of your predecessors, and that city which was once the capital and mistress of the world,—why should they now be tossed to and fro under the usurped authority of a king of Rugians and Turcilingians? Send me thither, if it please you, with my people, that you may be relieved from the expense which we cause you here, and that there, if by the Lord's help I conquer, the fame of Your Piety may beam brightly forth. For it is fitting that I, your son and servant, if victorious, should hold that kingdom as your gift; but it is not fitting that he, whom you know not, should press his tyrannical yoke upon your Senate, and that a part of the Roman Republic should languish in the bondage of captivity under him. In brief, if I conquer, I shall possess the land as of your gift and by your grant: if I am conquered, Your Piety will lose nothing, but rather, as before said, will save the heavy charges which we now bring upon you." On hearing this speech the Emperor, though sorry to part with Theodoric, yet not wishing to sadden him by a refusal, granted what he desired; and, after enriching him with great gifts, dismissed him from his presence, commending to his protection the Senate and People of Rome.'

This is the account of the transaction given by Jordanes. The Byzantine authorities put a slightly different colour upon it. *Procopius* says, 'The Emperor Zeno, a man skilful in expedients

BOOK IV.

CH. 3.

Byzantine
version.

BOOK IV. of a temporary kind¹, exhorted Theodoric to march
 CH. 3. to Italy, and, entering the lists against Odoacer, to win the Western Kingdom for himself and the Goths. He showed him that it was better for him, now especially that he had attained the dignity of Senator, by the overthrow of a tyrant to obtain the rule over all the Romans and Italians, than, by continuing the struggle with the Emperor, to run so many risks as he must do. Theodoric then, being pleased with the bargain, departed for Italy;’ and so on.

The author who generally goes by the name of *Anonymus Valesii*, and who clearly writes from Byzantine sources and with a particular regard for the Emperor Zeno, says, ‘Zeno therefore rewarded Theodoric with his favours, making him Patrician and Consul, bestowing on him a large sum and sending him to Italy. With whom Theodoric made a bargain that, if Odoachar should be conquered, he on his arrival should reign in his stead as a reward for all his labours².’

Both partly
true.

There is evidently a certain conflict of testimony as to the quarter from which the idea of a Gothic invasion of Italy first proceeded. Odovacar, as we

¹ It is difficult to translate τὰ πάντα εἰ τίθεσθαι ἐπιστάμενος without seeming to convey more blame than Procopius perhaps intended.

² ‘Cui Theodericus pactuatus est, ut, si victus fuisset Odoachar, pro merito laborum suorum loco ejus, dum adveniret tantum, praereguaret.’ I do not understand this passage, and cannot profess to interpret satisfactorily ‘*dum* adveniret, *tantum*’ or ‘*praereguaret*.’

shall see, had made himself obnoxious both to the BOOK IV.
Byzantine and the Goth. Theodoric's prolonged CH. 8.
stay in the Danubian regions was a perpetual
menace to Constantinople; and, whatever Jordanes may feign as to the Emperor's sorrow in parting with his adopted son, Zeno certainly desired few things more earnestly than that he might never see his face again; and Theodoric knew this. When matters have reached this point, when the guest has over-stayed his welcome, and both he and the host are keenly conscious of the fact, it may be difficult to say which first gives the signal for departure; and perhaps the means of escape from a position which each finds intolerable, may present itself simultaneously to both by a process of 'double independent discovery.' Only, in the idea of leading his nation away from the shores of the Danube, haunted by them for a hundred weary years, descending the Alps into Italy and founding an Ostrogothic kingdom on 'the Hesperian shore,' there is a touch of genius which disposes one to look for its conception, rather to the bright and vigorous young Amal king than to the tired brain of the imperial voluptuary.

More important than the question of priority of invention between Zeno and Theodoric is the uncertainty in which the rights of the contracting parties were, no doubt intentionally, left. The Goth asks the Emperor's leave to invade Italy. If Italy was recognised as permanently lost to the Roman Empire, if it was like Dacia or Britain,

What were the rights of Theodoric and the Emperor?

BOOK IV. why was this leave necessary? He says that he
 CH. 3.
 will hold the new kingdom as his adoptive father's gift. Did that gift fasten any responsibilities to the receiver? Did it entitle the giver to be consulted in the subsequent disposal of the crown? Was it, to borrow an illustration from English law, like a gift 'for life,' or 'to him and the heirs of his body,' or 'to him and heirs general'? In feudal times a transaction such as this could hardly have taken place without the creation of a fief; but it is some centuries too soon as yet to talk of fiefs and vassals of the Empire.

All that we can say, apparently, is that Theodoric was despatched on his hazardous expedition with the imperial approval; that the future relations between the parties were left to accident to determine; but that there was, underlying the whole conversation, a recognition of the fact that Italy and Rome still formed part of the *Respublica Romana*; and out of this fact would spring claims which any *Imperator*, who was strong enough to do so, was certain to enforce.

Before we follow the march of Theodoric and his Goths across the mountains we must first consult our meagre authorities to ascertain what Odovacar has been doing, during the thirteen years that he has been undisputed lord of Italy.

CHAPTER IV.

FLAVIUS ODOVACAR.

Authorities.

Sources :—

OUR sources of information as to the reign of Odovacar BOOK IV.
are, as will be seen from the narrative, poverty itself. We CH. 4.
get a few scattered notices, however, from PROCOPIUS, JORDANES, and ENNOBIUS (in the Life of St. Epiphanius). The ANONYMUS VALESII and the letters of CASSIODORUS fill up a few gaps in our knowledge. MALCHUS and JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS give us our most valuable information as to the relations of Odovacar with the Eastern Court.

Guides :—

Tillemont, 'Hist. des Empereurs,' vi. 434-457. Dahn's 'Könige der Germanen,' ii. 35-50. Pallmann, 'Geschichte der Völkerwanderung,' vol. ii. Pallmann's defence of the government of Odovacar is the best thing in his book.

[For ecclesiastical matters the chief sources here are EVAGRIUS and LIBERATUS (a Carthaginian deacon of the sixth century, who wrote a short account of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies). NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS wrote his Ecclesiastical History in the fourteenth century, but seems to have used the works of nearly contemporary authors.

My guides have been Baronius; Hefele's 'Concilien-geschichte' (vol. ii); Bower's 'History of the Popes' (vol. 2); Gieseler's 'Compendium of Ecclesiastical History' (vol. 2); and Milman's 'History of Latin Christianity' (vol. i).]

THE humiliation of Rome was completed by the events recorded in the preceding volume. There

BOOK IV. was still, no doubt, a legal fiction according to which
 CH. 4. Rome and Italy yet belonged to the Empire, and were under the dominion of the successor of Augustus, who reigned not in Old Rome by the Tiber, but in New Rome by the Thracian Bosphorus. In fact, however, one will was supreme in Italy, the will of the tall barbarian who in sordid dress once strode into the cell of Severinus¹, the leader of the Herulian and Rugian mutineers, the conqueror of Pavia, ODOVACAR².

Position of
 Odovacar.

For thirteen years this soldier of fortune swayed with undisputed mastery the Roman state. He employed, no doubt, the services of Roman officials to work the machine of government. He paid a certain deference, on many occasions, to the will of his nominal superior, Zeno, the Emperor at Constantinople. He watched, we may be sure much more anxiously, the shifting currents of opinion among the rough mercenaries who had bestowed on him the crown, and on whom he had bestowed the third part of the lands of Italy. But, on the whole, and looking at the necessity of concentrated force in such a precarious state as that which the mercenaries had founded, we shall probably not be far wrong if we attribute to Odovacar the effective power, though of course he used not the name, of Autocrat.

The highest praise that can be bestowed on the

¹ See vol. ii. p. 527.

² It will be seen, from the note at the end of this chapter, that this is the true contemporary spelling of the name.

government of this adventurer from the Danubian lands is that we hear so little about it. Some hardship, perhaps even some violence, probably accompanied the compulsory expropriation of the Romans from one-third of the lands of Italy. There is some reason for supposing, however, that this would be in the main only a loss of property, falling on the large landed proprietors. Where the land was being cultivated by *coloni*, bound to the soil and paying their fixed rent or their share of produce to the lord, no great visible change could probably be made. From motives of self-interest, and to gratify his warlike impatience of toil, the Rugian warrior, entering upon the ownership of his *sors*, would generally leave the tillage of the soil in the same hands in which he found it. To him, or rather to his bailiffs (*actores*), instead of to those of the luxurious Roman senator, the *coloni* would henceforward pay their dues, and that would be the whole visible outcome of the late revolution. It seems hardly likely that there can have been much gratuitous cruelty or actual bloodshed on the part of the soldiers of Odovacar, or we should surely have had some hint of it from one of the Byzantine historians. It ought, however, to be mentioned that Ennodius draws a somewhat gloomy picture of the financial oppression of Odovacar's reign; but his purpose of blackening the fallen king in order to glorify Theodoric is so obvious that we need attach but little weight to his testimony. Perhaps his best remark is that Odovacar's consciousness of his own

BOOK IV.

CH. 4.

Character
of his
govern-
ment.

BOOK IV. lowly origin made him timid in the presence of
 CH. 4. his army, and prevented him from checking their
 excesses¹. There are also some expressions in
 the letters of Pope Gelasius which hint at 'bar-
 baric incursions' and 'the continual tempest of
 war'² that had afflicted Italy, but the lan-
 guage employed is extremely vague, and gives
 us rather the impression of words used to round
 off a rhetorical period than of a genuine cry of
 sorrow forced out of the writer by the sight of
 the misery of his people.

As far as Italy herself is concerned, this part of
 her annals is an absolute blank, not one of her own
 sons having said anything at all about it, at least
 not in a voice loud enough to reach posterity.
 This absolute extinction of the national conscious-
 ness, in a people which had once numbered among
 its sons a Livy and a Tacitus, is one of the strangest

¹ This seems to be the meaning of 'Metuebat parentes exer-
 citus, quem meminisse originis suae admonebat honor alienus ;
 nam ire ad nutum suum legiones et remeare pavore algidus
 imperabat. Suspecta enim est obedientia quae famulatur in-
 dignis,' &c. (Panegyricus, p. 172, ed. Migne.)

² Epist. iii. to the Bishops of Dardania (assigned to the
 year 492): 'Ubi primum respirare fas est a continuorum tem-
 pestate bellorum, quae in illis provinciis, vel in istis temporibus
 qualitas incessanter exercuit, cunctos per Dardaniam Domini
 sacerdotes fraternae sollicitudinis caritate duximus alloquendos.'

Epist. vii (to the Bishops in Picenum): 'Barbaricis hactenus
 dolebamus incursibus maxime vicinas Urbi provincias et bel-
 lorum saeva tempestate vastari.'

This last letter is noticeable because there are several indica-
 tions that the settlements, first of Odovacar's followers and
 afterwards of the Ostrogoths, were particularly numerous in
 Picenum.

symptoms of the fifth century. But in truth it seems as if even for the chroniclers, who did in their way try to preserve some of the events of their age from oblivion, the Monophysite Controversy, to us so unintelligible and so wearisome, possessed a fascination which quite diverted their gaze from the portentous spectacle of a barbarian ruling in Italy. It would probably be safe to say that we have three allusions to Timotheus Aelurus, the militant Patriarch of Alexandria, for every time that the name of Odovacar occurs in the pages of the chroniclers.

In geographical extent, the dominions of Odovacar probably did not differ greatly from those of the Roman Emperors of the West during the last twenty-five years of their rule. It is true that Gaul was lost to him. The fair region which we now call Provence, nearly the earliest formed and quite the latest lost *Provincia* of Rome, that region in which the Latin spirit dwelt so strongly that the Roman nobles thought of migrating thither in 401, when Alaric first invaded Italy¹, refused to submit to the rule of the upstart barbarian. The Provençals sent an embassy to Constantinople to claim the protection of Zeno for the still loyal subjects of the Empire. Odovacar, however, sent his ambassadors at the same time, and again, as before, when the restoration of Nepos was in question, the representations of the new barbarian ruler of Italy prevailed. Zeno, we are told, 'rather in-

BOOK IV.
CH. 4.
Loss of
Provence.

¹ See vol. i. p. 285.

BOOK IV. clined to the cause of Odovacar¹. The latter how-
 CH. 4. ever, who perhaps thought that he had enough
 upon his hands without forcing his yoke on the
 Provençals, made over his claim to Euric, king of
 the Visigoths, whose influence was at this time
 predominant in Gaul².

Recovery
 of Sicily.

Sicily, which had been for a generation sub-
 jected, first to the devastations and then to the
 rule of the Vandal king, was now by a formal
 treaty, which must have been nearly the last pub-
 lic act of Gaiseric, ceded to Odovacar, all but a
 small part, probably at the western end of the
 island, which the Vandal reserved to himself³. A
 yearly tribute was to be the price of this conces-
 sion; but, in the decay of the kingdom under
 Gaiseric's successors, it is possible that this tribute
 was not rigorously enforced, as it is also almost
 certain that the reserved portion of the island,
 following the example of the remainder, owned
 the sway of Odovacar.

The other great Italian islands, Sardinia and

¹ We get this important but obscurely described event from
 Candidus (as abstracted by Photius): *Καὶ στασιασάντων αὐτῷ*
 ('Οδοάκρῳ) *τῶν δυσμικῶν Γαλατῶν, διαπρεσβευσταμένων τε αὐτῶν καὶ*
'Οδοάκρου πρὸς Ζήνωνα, 'Οδοάκρῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Ζήνων ἀπέκλυεν (ap.
 Müller, iv. 136).

² Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, i. 12 (p. 64, ed. Bonn). The
 date of Euric's conquest of Provence is a much-disputed point.

³ Victor Vitensis, i. 4: 'Siciliam Odoacro Italiae regi . . . tri-
 butario jure concessit [Geisericus], ex qua ei Odoacer singulis
 quibusque temporibus ut domino tributa dependit, aliquam
 tamen sibi reservans partem.' The sense seems to require that
reservans should qualify Geisericus: otherwise to couple it
 with Odoacer would have been the more natural construction.

Corsica, as well as the Balearic isles, formed part of the maritime monarchy of the Vandals, and fell eventually, when it fell, under the sway of Byzantium:

BOOK IV.
CH. 4.

North of the Alps, the dominion of Odovacar was probably more firmly established than had been that of any Italian ruler for a generation. It will be remembered that Raetia, the oblong block of territory which extended from the Alps to the Danube, formed, in the fourth and fifth centuries, a part of the 'Diocese' of Italia¹. It seems likely that under Odovacar, himself an immigrant from the Danubian lands, and able to draw to his standard many of the bravest and strongest of the adventurers who then roved through that portion of 'Varbaricum,' the passes of the Alps may have been more strongly guarded, and Raetia may have been more of an outpost for Italy, than it had been since the wave of westward migration, at the beginning of the fifth century, changed all the landmarks on the north-western frontier of the Empire. In fact, such indications as we have of the policy of Odovacar would dispose one to think that his face was turned towards the North rather than the South. Peace with the Vandals, peace, if not a very cordial peace, with Byzantium, with an energetic policy towards the Burgundians, Alamanni, Thuringians, Rugians, on whose settlements he looked down from his Raetian stronghold—this was probably the policy of the new kingdom. It

Tight hold
on Raetia.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 226 and 230.

BOOK IV. accorded well herewith that, like Honorius, though
 CH. 4. not from the same motive of personal timidity, Odovacar fixed his residence at Ravenna rather than at Rome.

Conquest
 of Dalmatia,
 481.

There came a favourable opportunity for enlarging his kingdom by an extension to the east of the Hadriatic. It will be remembered that Nepos, the exiled Emperor of the West, reigned for some years, apparently as legitimate Augustus, in the province of Dalmatia. As this province belonged to the Western Empire¹, he probably owned no subjection to his brother Emperor at Constantinople, nor confessed any other inferiority than such as the ruler of a small and precariously held state must have felt in the presence of the undoubted lord of Illyricum and the Orient. We have already met with his ambassadors at the Court of Byzantium vainly entreating one legitimate Emperor to restore the other to his rightful position²; and we also more recently have heard the offer of Theodoric the Amal to restore Nepos, if Zeno so willed, to the Western throne³. No effectual help, however, was ever really rendered by Zeno to his dethroned kinsman, and in the year 480, as has been already related⁴, Nepos fell by the traitorous blows of the Counts Viator and Ovida at

¹ See vol. i. p. 276.

² Vol. ii. pp. 538-539.

³ See the preceding chapter. The words of Malchus are, Ἔτομος δέ, εἰ προστάξει βασιλεύς, καὶ εἰς Δαλματίαν ἀπελθεῖν, ὡς Νέπωτα κατάξων (p. 129, ed. Müller).

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 514.

his villa near Salona¹. In the following year BOOK IV.
 Odovacar transported an army into Dalmatia, con- CH. 4.
 quered and slew Count Ovida²,—perhaps Viator
 had already fallen in some robber's quarrel over
 the division of the plunder,—and thus avenged the
 death of Nepos. There can be no doubt that the
 result of this campaign was the annexation of
Dalmatia to the dominions of Odovacar, though this
 fact is not expressly asserted by the annalists³.

It is worthy of remark that the Byzantine his-
 torian Procopius⁴, who probably gives the strict
 legitimist view of the reign of Odovacar, does not
 consider that reign to have commenced till the
 death of Nepos, and thus reduces to ten years an
 interval which, according to the *de facto* view
 generally adopted by historians, lasted at least
 fourteen⁵.

From this survey of foreign affairs we pass, to
 consider the internal condition of his kingdom.

In the first year after he had attained to
 supreme power he put to death a certain Count Death of
 Count
 Bracila,
 477.

¹ 'Nepos, quem dudum Orestes imperio abdicaverat. Viatoris
 et Ovidae comitum suorum insidiis, haud longe a Salonis, sua in
 villa occisus est' (Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 480).

² 'Hoc consule Odoacer in Dalmatiis Odivam [sic] vincit et
 perimit' (Cassiodorus, s. a. 481).

³ See the Deed of Gift to Pierius at the end of this chapter,
 in which Odovacar bestows on Pierius the island of Meleda off
 the coast of Dalmatia.

⁴ De Bello Gothico, i. 1 : Τὴν τυραννίδα ἐς ἔτη ἐκπαύνετο δέκα.

⁵ From 476 to 490, when Odovacar was finally shut up in
 Ravenna. Seventeen years (476 to 493) if we reckon to his
 death. This observation is made by Pallmann, ii. 351.

BOOK IV. Bracila at Ravenna¹. From the form of the name

CH. 4.

we should have supposed that this was some barbarian rival, anxious to win the favour of the soldiery and to serve Odovacar as Odovacar had served Orestes. But Jordanes, whose statements, in the great dearth of authentic information, we cannot afford utterly to despise, tells us that it was done 'that he might strike terror into the Romans².' Perhaps, as it had been with Stilicho the Vandal and with Ricimer the Sueve, so now was it with Bracila, the son of some unknown German princeling, that the cause of Rome was most stubbornly maintained by some conspicuous soldier not himself of Roman blood.

Polity of
the king-
dom.

Possibly the Teutonic adherents of the new ruler, dwelling on the lands wrested from the old possessors and assigned to them, may still have been governed by their old tribal laws, and may have preserved some remains of their tribal organization. Analogy points to this as a probable conclusion, but we have absolutely no information on the subject. There is no doubt however that, for the great mass of the inhabitants of Italy, the old order of things remained unchanged. Justice was still administered according to Roman laws by Roman magistrates. The taxes of the Empire were still collected by Roman *Rationales*.) There were

¹ Marcellinus, s. a. 477; Jordanes, *De Reb. Get.* xli.

² 'Interea Odoacer rex gentium omnem Italiam subjugatam ut terrorem suum Romanis injiceret, mox initio regni sui Bracilam comitem apud Ravennam occidit;' Jord. *De Reb. Get.* xli.

still Praetorian Prefects, Counts of the Sacred BOOK IV.
 Largesses, Counts of the Domestics, Masters of the CH. 4.
 Offices, and all the rest of the administrative and
 courtly hierarchy introduced by Diocletian and fully
 developed under Constantine. Only, the centre and
 mainspring of all this elaborate organization was
 no longer a Roman emperor, but a nondescript
 barbarian chief, King in relation to his followers,
 Patrician in his dealings with the Senate, a man
 not wearing the imperial purple nor crowned with
 the diadem¹, a man who could do everything in
 Italy except say by what right he ruled there.

One proof that the time of Odovacar's kingship Odovacar's
ministers.
 was no mere revel of barbaric licence and anarchy
 is furnished by the names of Roman administrators
 —men of high character and position—who served
 him in the affairs of the state². Chief among
 these we must place *Liberius*. We are not in- Liberius.
 formed of the precise position which he occupied
 at this time, but from the terms, honourable both
 to the praiser and the praised, in which his faith-
 ful services to Odovacar are recounted by that
 king's successful rival, we may infer that it was
 a prominent one³.

Another name with which we are already

¹ 'Nomenque regis Odoacer assumpsit, cum tamen nec pur-
 pura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus;' Cassiod. Chronicon,
 a. a. 476.

² Pallmann (*Völkerwanderung*, ii. 332) dwells, as he has a
 right to do, on the attestation thus furnished to the civilised
 character of Odovacar's rule.

³ See Cassiodori *Variarum*, ii. 16.

BOOK IV. familiar, that of *Cassiodorus*, also emerges into
 CH. 4. notice in this reign. But, though some historians
Cassio- have been of a different opinion, it is now generally
dorus admitted that it was not 'Cassiodorus Senator,'
 (Senior). the minister of Theodoric and historian of the
 Goths, but his *father* who held office under Odo-
 vacar. The scanty details of the father's political
 career will be best reserved till we come to deal
 with the pedigree and the character of his illus-
 trious son. It may be mentioned, however, that
 he seems to have successively filled the two great
 financial offices of Count of the Private Domains
 and Count of the Sacred Largesses¹.

Pierius. *Pierius*, who was *Comes Domesticorum* or Cap-
 tain of the Guard under Odovacar, was employed
 to superintend a certain transportation of Roman
 inhabitants from Noricum to Campania, which will
 be described in the next chapter. It is an in-
 teresting fact that there is still extant a deed of
 gift from Odovacar to this trusted minister. As
 the document throws some useful light on the
 internal condition of Italy at this period, and is
 really the only authentic record of the reign that
 we possess, it is transcribed in full at the end of
 this chapter².

Pelagius. *Pelagius*, who filled the high office of Praetorian
 Prefect, does not show so fair a record as some of
 the other ministers of Odovacar. We hear his name

¹ For some account of the duties of these offices see vol. i.
 pp. 222 and 216.

² See Note B, On the Deed of Gift to *Pierius*,

only from Ennodius, the biographer of Epiphanius, BOOK IV.
CH. 4. the saintly bishop of Ticinum, and he assures us that the province of Liguria groaned under his oppressive exercise of the right of *coemptio*, meaning probably the royal prerogative of buying provisions for the army at a fixed price below the market value. By this extortion, which Ennodius attributes to 'the long-concealed but at length forth-blazing ardour of the malice of Pelagius,' but which probably proceeded simply from the poverty of the exchequer, the *possessores* of Liguria found that their taxes, already unendurable, were virtually doubled, and the province was brought to the brink of ruin¹. Epiphanius, Mission of
St. Epiphanius. that embodiment of good-nature, whose good offices as mediator were perpetually being invoked on behalf of some injured person or class, was appealed to by the half-desperate Ligurian 'possessors,' set off with alacrity for the court, and obtained, probably after a personal interview with Odovacar, a remission of the obnoxious imposts.

Nor was this the only concession made by the Relief of
citizens of
Ticinum. exchequer of the barbarian king to the prayers of the Bishop. Epiphanius had devoted himself to the rebuilding of the churches of Ticinum and Pavia,

¹ 'Nam coemptionum enormitate gravissima tributa duplicabat, reddebatque onus geminum, quod simplex sustinere non poterat' (Vita S. Epiphanii, p. 224, ed. Migne). Though *comparatio* is the technical word for what our lawyers call 'purveyance' (see Cod. Th. xi. 15), *coemptio* is also used for it (Cod. Th. xiv. 16. 3), and I have no doubt that it bears that meaning here.

BOOK IV. both of which, as was previously told¹, had
 CH. 4.
 perished in the sack of the city by the revolted mercenaries. Notwithstanding the poverty of his ravaged diocese, and the opposition of 'that crafty serpent,' the devil, to whose agency his biographer attributes the fall of the colonnaded wall of one of the churches², the Bishop succeeded in raising both edifices, in a marvellously short space of time, to their old height, and perhaps in restoring them to their former splendour. An accident which occurred in the progress of the work, the fall of the workmen with a large hoisting machine from the very cupola of the second church³, raised the Bishop's fame to a yet greater height, since the people attributed it to his prayers, efficacious to delay the ruin and to check the falling stones in mid-air, that not a bone of one of the workmen was broken. Epiphanius, however, considerably remembered that the restoration of the ecclesiastical glories of his city would not repair the ruined fortunes of its inhabitants,—perhaps even he had been forced to solicit for the purpose contributions which were as hardly spared as the widow's mite,—and he therefore appealed for aid

¹ Vol. ii. p. 533.

² 'Ex templo alterius ecclesiae tum columnatus repente paries impulsu callidi serpentis ejectus est.' The 'columnatus paries' is well illustrated by the earliest churches of Rome and Ravenna.

³ 'Ab ipso templi tholo artifices cum ingenti machina corruerunt: nullus tamen eorum aut crure debilis factus est, aut aliqua membrorum parte truncatus.' We have another interesting architectural hint in the word 'tholus' (cupola).

to Odovacar, who directed that Ticinum should enjoy a five years' exemption from tribute. The biographer adds that of all the citizens the Bishop who had obtained the boon reaped the least benefit from it, so modest was he in putting forward his own claims for exemption¹.

Such benefits, granted by the barbarian and heretical king at the request of the Catholic bishop, are honourable to both parties. But there are not wanting indications that, in his attitude towards the head of Catholic Italy, towards the Bishop of Rome himself, Odovacar exhibited the same spirit of wise and dignified toleration which during the larger part of his reign was the glory of his great successor. Though the detailed history of the Popes lies outside of the scope of this work, some pages must be devoted to the position and character of the Pontiffs who witnessed the establishment of barbarian rule in Italy.

The stately Leo, the tamer of Attila and the hammer of Eutychian heretics, died on the 10th of November, 461, and was succeeded by *Hilarus* the Sardinian. The pontificate of Hilarus, which lasted nearly six years, was chiefly occupied with attempts to assert the Papal supremacy over the Churches of Gaul and Spain in a more despotic style than had yet been possible. These attempts

¹ I presume that this is the meaning of 'ad quæ beneficia per singulos dispartiendâ, tanta se castitate continuit, ut nemo ex his minus acciperet, quam is quo fuerant impetrante concessa.'

BOOK IV. were successful. It is a marvellous sight to see
 CH. 4.
 how, as the political power of Rome over the provinces of the Empire ebbs away, the ecclesiastical power of her bishop increases. The Tribune and the Centurion disappear, but the Legate of the Pope comes oftener, and is a mightier personage each time of his return. So, too, with the outward splendour of the Papal Court: it grows brighter as that of the Caesars wanes. A long page in the Lives of the Popes is filled with the catalogue of the costly gifts of gold and silver offered by Pope Hilarus, chiefly in the three oratories which he erected in the Lateran Basilica. The names of these vessels (to us scarcely intelligible), their shapes, their weights, are recorded with tedious minuteness by the enthusiastic scribe¹. But, as has been well observed², these gifts, purchased with the revenues of the spacious and ever-increasing Church domains, were almost a satire on the general poverty of the city. While the life of the citizens was growing harder and the civil edifices were every year putting on more of the appearance of squalor and desolation, the shrines of martyrs and saints were glowing with ever-fresh splendour before the eyes—shall we say the envious, or the awe-stricken eyes—of the Christian Quirites.

Pope Hilarus also made his mark on his times by withstanding a faint attempt at toleration made

¹ Anastasius Bibliothecarius, ap. Muratori, iii. 120.

² By Gregorinus, Geschichte der Stadt Rom., i. 222-3.

by the secular power. The Emperor Anthemius BOOK IV.
CH. 4. was darkly suspected of plotting, in concert with a certain citizen of Rome named Severus, a restoration of the worship of the gods of the Capitol¹. Toleration resisted.
467. This was perhaps mere calumny; but what was undoubted was that he was accompanied to Rome by Philotheus, an asserter of the Macedonian heresy and a denier of the divinity of the Holy Ghost. At the instigation of this Philotheus, Anthemius proposed to allow full liberty to all the sects to hold their conventicles in Rome. But the aged Hilarus, who was within a few months of his end (for he died in September 467, only five months after Anthemius' triumphal entry), thundered with so loud and clear a voice in St. Peter's against the proposed act of toleration, that the Emperor was obliged to relinquish his design and to pledge himself by a solemn oath to the Pontiff never to resume it².

The successor of Hilarus, Pope Simplicius, presided over the Church fifteen years, and in that time saw some great events. He witnessed the deposition of Augustulus, and the accession to Pope Simplicius,
468-483. 476.

¹ Damascius, ap. Photium, Cod. ccxlii. (Migne, Patol. ciii. 1266 and 1275).

² We learn this from the letter of Pope Gelasius to the Bishops of Dardania (Migne, Patol. lix. 74): 'Sanctae memoriae quoque papa Hilarus Anthemium imperatorem, cum Philotheus Macedoniannus ejus familiaritate suffultus diversarum conciliabuta nova sectarum in urbem vellet inducere, apud beatum Petrum apostolum palam ne id fieret clara voce constrinxit, in tantum ut non ea facienda cum interpositione sacramenti idem promitteret Imperator.'

BOOK IV. supreme power in Italy of a Teutonic mercenary.
 CH. 4.

482. He heard also of an event far more important in the eyes of the chroniclers of the time, the publication of the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno, that document wherein an emperor, by his sole authority, without the sanction of pope or council, endeavoured to fix the land-marks of Christian belief and to terminate the Monophysite controversy. The long pontificate of Simplicius was chiefly occupied by his struggles for ascendancy against the able but somewhat unscrupulous Patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius. This struggle prepared the way for, and perhaps necessitated, the first great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, which was opened under his successor.

Struggle
for primacy
with Con-
stanti-
nople.

In this struggle we are bound to remember that there was an element of self-defence mingled with all the aggressiveness of the Roman Pontiffs. Looking back through the dim vista of the middle ages at the steady and resistless growth of the papal power—a growth lasting over far distant centuries which, we are inclined to say, never conspired together for one single end as they did for this,—we perhaps sometimes over-rate the distinctness of vision wherewith the individual pontiffs saw the goal to which they were tending, while we underrate the actual pressure of cares and perils in each successive generation by which they were surrounded. Thus, for instance, at the point of time which we have now reached, in the

last quarter of the fifth century from the birth of Christ, it might sometimes seem a doubtful matter to contemporary opinion whether the Roman See would not have to descend from the high place of its dominion at the head of the Christian world. It was true that the person of the Pope was exalted by the humiliation and the eventual disappearance of the Western Caesar¹; but the See was in some danger of sharing the fallen fortunes of the city in which it was placed. Whatever might be the precise degree of support which they derived from the theory of an apostolical succession from Peter and an heirship of his power of the keys, it will not be disputed that in fact the position of the Popes at the centre of gravity of the Roman world, in the one great city to which all roads converged, enormously smoothed the way for their advance to the undisputed primacy of the Church. The whole constitution of the new religious community imitated that of the great political system in which it found itself embedded; and, like it, depended on the recognition of great cities as centres of life and power for the countries in which they were situated. The Bishop of Antioch was head of all the Churches of Syria. The Bishop of Alexandria was head of all the Churches of Egypt. It was only natural, in the second and third centuries, that the Bishop of Rome should be head of all the Churches of the Roman

BOOK IV.
CH. 4.

¹ This obvious result of the events of 476 has been touched upon in a previous volume, ii. 544.

BOOK IV. Empire, which was practically conterminous with
Ch. 4. Christendom. Had Peter lived and died at Bethsaida, it is possible that the primacy of the Christian Church might have been claimed for the bishopric of Bethsaida: it is certain that the claim would not have met with so easy nor so world-wide acceptance.

Elements
 of weak-
 ness in the
 Papal posi-
 tion.

Since, then, the position of the Roman bishops in the forefront of the Christian Church was originally connected so closely with the political ascendancy of their city, it was possible, now that political ascendancy was lost, that ecclesiastical supremacy might go with it. And, if the Pope lost his primacy, to no see was he more likely to lose it than to the pushing, ambitious, powerful see of Constantinople; that see whose representatives were ever at the ear of the Emperor, moulding the ecclesiastical policy of his reign; that see whose splendour was beheld by all the strangers who visited the New Rome; that see which already, in the course of little more than a century, had acquired the primacy first of Thrace, then of Pontus and Asia; that see which had just succeeded in accomplishing the subjection of the Patriarch of Antioch, and was now profiting by the religious wrangles of the Egyptians to reduce to similar dependence him of Alexandria¹.

¹ These successive aggrandisements of the See of Constantinople are traced by Bower (*Hist. of the Popes*, ii. 64-68). A reference to the maps in my first volume (at p. 25 and p. 109) will make his statements somewhat clearer.

Of all the many able and somewhat unscrupulous men who ever stood in the *ambo* of the great church at Constantinople perhaps none was cleverer and none bolder than Acacius. We have already seen him¹ opposing the usurper Basiliscus, restoring Zeno, and guiding the pen of that Emperor as he traced the characters of the great Henoticon, that instrument which, as he no doubt hoped, would be looked back to by posterity as a more triumphant 'End of Controversy' than the *Tome* which the great Leo himself had presented to the fathers of Chalcedon. Now that our point of view is transferred to Rome from Constantinople, we can perhaps see a little more clearly what reasons Acacius had, apart from any deep spiritual interest of his own in the subject-matter of the controversy, for desiring its settlement on the basis of the Henoticon. The Council of Chalcedon had by its twenty-eighth canon (a canon passed, it is said, after the departure of Leo's legates and of the majority of the bishops) rested the primacy of Old Rome solely on the political ground, making no mention of the commission to Peter, and had assigned the same prerogatives to the Bishop of New Rome, leaving apparently but an honorary precedence to the Bishop of the elder capital².

BOOK IV.
CH. 4.
Acacius,
Patriarch
of Constantinople,
471-489.

¹ See chap. ii.

² 'Rightly did the Fathers concede its privileges to the throne of the Elder Rome, because that city bears royal sway. And influenced by the same aim, the 150 most religious bishops [assembled at Chalcedon] have allotted the same privileges to the most holy throne of the New Rome, rightly judging that

BOOK IV. Since this was the judgment of Chalcedon, a judgment which, when the grounds of it were considered, would evidently, in a very few years, through the political changes that were going forward, give the see of Constantinople priority over that of Rome itself, the authority of the Council of Chalcedon must be upheld, and therefore neither Basiliscus nor any other emperor should be allowed to lapse into mere Monophysitism. But, on the other hand, since the good-will of the occupants of the thrones of Antioch and Alexandria was necessary to the success of the designs of Acacius, since the doctrine of the single nature of Christ was popular in those capitals and the name of the Council of Chalcedon was abhorred by very many, it would be wise to readmit them to communion by a scheme which should avoid the actual mention of the double nature of Christ and the express ratification of the decrees of the Third Council. With this object the Henoticon was framed, and for a generation or two seemed likely to be successful. In this, as in most ecclesiastical controversies, words were the all-important things. The personal vanity of the combatants must be conciliated, their pretensions to knowledge of Divine things must be respected: if these could be saved harmless, the faith might take care of itself.

the city which is honoured by the presence of the Emperor and the Senate, and which in political matters enjoys the same privileges as the elder Queen-City, ought also in ecclesiastical affairs to be glorified as she is, being second after her.'

Of course, just as much interest as Acacius BOOK IV.
CH. 4. Bishop of Constantinople had in upholding the Henoticon, just so much had Simplicius Bishop of Struggle of
Simplicius
with Aca-
cius. Rome in destroying it, and the troubles of the see of Alexandria afforded him a useful lever for the purpose. Timothy the Weasel was dead. His rival, the 477. other Timothy, called Solofaciolus, died five years later. Acacius determined to put Peter the Stam- 482. merer, a well-known follower of the Weasel's, on the episcopal throne of Alexandria, the Henoticon being the basis of union between the two Churches, by the Bosphorus and by the Nile. At first the plan succeeded. Peter the Stammerer subscribed the Henoticon, reigned as bishop at Alexandria, and was during his eight years' episcopate the useful tool of his Byzantine benefactor. But there was a rival candidate for the see, one John Talaia, who had been actually elected on the death of Timothy, but who had, so it was said, solemnly sworn to Zeno that he would never accept the dignity. He was also charged with simony and with misappropriation of the treasures of the Church. What was more undoubted, and perhaps more to the point, was that he was a friend and dependent of Illus, who was now falling into disgrace at Constantinople, and was indeed on the very verge of rebellion. All these circumstances made it easy for Acacius to nullify the election of Talaia and drive him into exile from Alexandria. He fled, however, to Rome, and there, in Pope Simplicius, found a willing listener to all his grievances against the

BOOK IV. Patriarch of Constantinople. Once, twice, even
 CH. 4.

Death of
 Simplicius.

four times did Simplicius write to Acacius insisting more and more peremptorily that he should withdraw from the communion of Peter the Stammerer, that rebel against the decrees of Chalcedon, and should not hinder the return of Talaia to his see. Acacius had not the courtesy to reply to any of these letters. While affairs were still in this position the fifteen years' pontificate of Simplicius came to an end. He died on the 2nd of March, 483, and his relics are still exhibited to the people once a year in his native town of Tivoli. The Pope who, born by the waters of 'headlong Anio,' had doubtless as a boy often wandered through the vast villa of Hadrian, then still in its original glory, had lived to see Rome itself, the Rome of Horace and of Hadrian, pass under the yoke of a petty chieftain of Herulian mercenaries.

Singular
 decrees of
 Odovacar,

On the death of Simplicius¹, when the clergy and people of Rome were assembled in the church of St. Peter to elect his successor, one of the Roman ministers of King Odovacar made his appearance among them. This was Basilius, perhaps the same Caecina Basilius whom Sidonius had chosen for his patron twenty-six years before, when he visited Rome², and whose somewhat reserved but honest character he described in writing to his friends. He now filled the office of Praetorian Prefect to

¹ The decree about the Papal election was drawn up before the death of Simplicius, but may not have been communicated to the people till after that event. ² See vol. ii. p. 466.

the barbarian King—another indication that in the civil government of Italy Odovacar retained the forms of the imperial hierarchy of office unaltered. Addressing the assembled multitude, Basilus informed them that they must not presume to elect a new Bishop of Rome without the concurrence of his master. This announcement probably only meant that all such rights, not of nomination but of veto, as the emperors had wielded previously to 476, must now be deemed to have survived to Odovacar. But he then proceeded to read a decree forbidding the new Pope, whoever he might be, to alienate any of the lands or ornaments of the Roman Church, and in case of disobedience, threatening the buyer with civil penalties, and the seller—strange menace from a layman and an Arian—with the spiritual penalty of anathema. We know nothing of any special proceedings of Simplicius which may have prompted this decree. It seems to have been accepted without murmuring at the time, though, nineteen years after, it was denounced by a similar assembly held in the same place, as an unhallowed interference on the part of a lay ruler with the affairs of the church, and the assembled clergy with difficulty, while the decree was being read, contained their indignation at the insolent tone of the fallen layman who had dared to interfere with a priest's monopoly of anathema¹.

BOOK IV.
CH. 4.

as to election of new Pope,

and alienation of Church property.

¹ I take my account of this decree from Hefele, *Concilien-geschichte*, ii. 644.

BOOK IV. The new Pope, Felix II¹, threw himself heartily
CH. 4. into the quarrel with Constantinople. He sent
Pope Felix II (III), 483-492. Embassy to Constantinople. two legates, Vitalis and Misenus, with a letter to the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, haughtily commanding them to desist from all further proceedings in the matter of the recognition of Peter the Stammerer. The legates were imprisoned as soon as they arrived at the Hellespont, their papers were taken from them, and they were threatened with death unless they would obey the Emperor's orders and recognise Peter as Patriarch of Alexandria. On the other hand, gifts and promotion were to be theirs if they complied with the imperial mandate. The legates, who were evidently weak and timid men, submitted to the coercion and the blandishments of the dread Augustus, and communicated with Acacius at a solemn festival at which the name of the Stammerer was read in the Diptychs, or tablets containing the roll-call of orthodox prelates in communion with the see of Constantinople. By this concession they of course surrendered the whole matter in dispute. Their master, Felix, was informed of this disloyalty by his faithful allies, the so-called 'sleepless' monks of Constantinople, who, perhaps from pure conviction, were passionate adherents of the Council of Chalcedon. On the
484. return of his legates he held a synod at Rome

¹ Called by some writers Felix III. The difference arises from the doubt whether Felix II (so called), the rival of Liberius (355-365), was a regularly chosen Pope or not.

(no doubt attended only by Italian bishops), and therein condemned the traitorous conduct of his legates, deposed them from their sees, and even excluded them from the holy Table. He went further, and the Council accompanied him. By an unheard-of stretch of power they condemned Acacius as a promoter of heresy, pronounced him deposed from his episcopal office, and cut him off 'as a putrid limb' from the body of the Church¹.

BOOK IV.
CH. 4.

Excommunication
of Acacius.

Next came the question by whom this sentence was to be served on the object of it, on the great Acacius, in all his pride of place and strong in the favour of his sovereign. Tutus, a *Defensor* of the Church, was despatched on this errand; and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the imperial guards, arrived in safety at Constantinople. There monkish fanaticism relieved him of the most dangerous part of his task. 'One of the Sleepless ones fastened the fatal parchment to the dress of Acacius as he was about to officiate in the church. Acacius quietly proceeded in the holy ceremony. Suddenly he paused: with calm, clear voice he ordered the name of Felix, Bishop of Rome, to be struck out of the roll of bishops in communion with his Church. The ban of Rome was encountered by the ban of Constantinople².' Some of the

The sentence
served on
Acacius.

¹ Mansi, Concilia, vii. 1140.

² I have taken a few sentences here from Milman's History of Latin Christianity. I have some doubts, however, whether the scene of the counter-anathema was quite so dramatic as he describes. Theophanes (eighth century) seems to be the only

BOOK IV. monks who had dared to affix such a stigma
 CH. 4. on the all-powerful Patriarch were killed by his
 indignant followers, others were wounded, and the
 rest were shut up in prison¹.

The schism This scene in the great Church of the Divine
 begun. Wisdom at Constantinople was the commencement
 of the first great schism between the Eastern and
 484-519. Western Churches,—a schism which lasted thirty-
 five years, and covered almost the whole period
 of the reign of Theodoric. Several overtures
 towards reconciliation were made. One by one
 all the chief actors in the scene were removed
 by death, Acacius in 489, Zeno in 491, Felix
 in 492. But the See of Rome was inflexible;
 she might 'spare the fallen,' but she would 'war
 down the proud².' There could be no peace
 with Byzantium till the name of Acacius, who
 had dared to strike a Roman pontiff out of the
 diptychs, was struck out of the diptychs itself,
 nor till Peter the Stammerer's accursed name
 was also expunged: all which did not take place
 till the year 519.

It is possible that the quarrel between the two
 sees of Rome and Constantinople reacted on the
 political relations of Italy and the Empire. It is
 certain that these relations became rapidly more
 unfriendly soon after the mutual excommunication

authority for this version of the story. Contemporary writers,
 Liberatus and Nicephorus, are colder and less pictorial.

¹ Nicephorus, *Eccl. Hist.* xvi. 17.

² 'Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.'

of the pontiffs, and continued so till the end of the reign of Odovacar.

BOOK IV.
CH. 4.

At the outset it is probable that Zeno did not view the Teutonic mercenary's accession to power with any great dissatisfaction. In Augustulus he could have no interest : for his kinsman Nepos his sympathy was of a very languid character. His vanity was flattered by the fact¹ that 'all the ornaments of the palace,' including no doubt the diadem and the purple robe, were sent by Odovacar to Constantinople. The story of the embassies from Italy to Byzantium told by Malchus² illustrates that aspect of the case in which it was possible for the Eastern Caesar to look upon the recent events in Italy with not unmingled dissatisfaction. It was not unpleasant to hear from the lips of a Roman Senator that Italy did not need a separate royalty, since Zeno's own imperial sway would suffice for both ends of the earth. And, however little the facts of the case might correspond with this deferential theory, Odovacar suing with some humility for the title of Patrician, Odovacar representing himself as in some sort a lieutenant of the Emperor, presented a not unwelcome spectacle to the imperial vanity. Add to this, that at any rate for the first three or four years of the reign of Zeno, Onöulf the brother of Odovacar, the client and the assassin of Harmatius, was a soldier of fortune about the Court, probably a connecting

Zeno's
attitude to-
wards
Odovacar.

¹ Vouched for by the Anonymus Valesii, § 64.

² See vol. ii. pp. 538-540.

BOOK IV. link between the Augustus and his brother. We
 CH. 4. can thus understand why, down to about 480 or 481, the Courts of Ravenna and of Constantinople may have regarded one another with no very unfriendly feelings.

481. The conquest of Dalmatia may have told both ways on this friendly relation. The barbarian's promptitude in avenging the death of her cousin Nepos would recommend him to the favour of the Empress Ariadne; but, on the other hand, by the addition of Dalmatia to his dominions he became a disagreeably near neighbour to the lord of the Lower Danube.

484. Then came, almost contemporaneously and not unconnected with one another, the schism between the two sees and the revolt of Illus. John Talaias, the fugitive patriarch of Alexandria, the client of the Roman popes, was, as we have seen, also a client of Illus, and may very probably have been the medium of communications between that general and Odovacar. Onöulf also, perhaps at this time, quitted the service of Zeno, since three years later we find him commanding his brother's armies in Noricum. But, as our information concerning this alienation between the Emperor and the King is very meagre, and is all furnished by one author (Joannes Antiochenus), it will be best to give it in his own words:—

Under-
 standing
 between
 Illus and
 Odovacar.

‘Illus therefore, having gone into open revolt, proclaimed Marcian Emperor, and sent to Odovacar the *tyrannus* of Western Rome, and to the

rulers of Persia and Armenia: and he also pre-BOOK IV.
pared a navy. Odoacer, however, replied that he CH. 4.
could not ally himself with him, but the others
promised alliance as soon as he could join his
forces with theirs¹.

Joannes then describes the revolt of Illus, its
early successes and subsequent decline, and con-
tinues:—

‘In the consulship of Longinus [486, two years
after the date of the previous extract], when
Theodoric was again disposed for revolt and was
ravaging the districts round Thrace, Zeno stirred
up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians,
since he was apprised that the latter was making
arrangements to ally himself with Illus. But
when Odoacer’s troops had obtained a brilliant
victory [over the Rugians], and moreover had sent
gifts to Zeno out of the spoils, he disclaimed his
allies and professed satisfaction with what had
been done².’

The story of the Rugian war, taking us as it
does out of Italy into the lands of the Middle
Danube, and opening up some interesting glimpses
into the life of the new barbarian states founded
amidst the ruins of the Empire, must be told in the

Embroil-
ment with
the Ru-
gians.

¹ Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214 (p. 620 in the 4th vol. of Müller).

² Ὁ Ζήνων πρὸς τὸν Ὀδοάκρον τὸ τῶν Ῥόγων ἐπανάστησε γένος, ὡς ἔγνω τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλοῦ συμμαχίαν παρασκευαζόμενον. Λαμπρὰν δὲ ἀναδησαμένων νίκην τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀδοάκρον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεμφάντων δῶρα τῷ Ζήνωνι τῶν λαφύρων, ἀποπροσποιησάμενος συνήδετο τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν. Joann. Ant. fr. 214 (p. 621, Müller).

BOOK IV. next chapter. But meanwhile it is important to
CH. 4. note that already in the year 486 the friendly relations between Odovacar and Zeno had been replaced by scarcely veiled enmity ; and thus the mind of the Emperor was already tuned to harmony with that fierce harangue against 'the usurped authority of a king of Rugians and Turcilingians' which, according to Jordanes, Theoderic delivered before him some time in the year 488.

NOTE B. ON ODOVACAR'S DEED OF GIFT TO
PIERIUS.

THIS document is published (with a facsimile) in Marini's 'Papiri Diplomatici' (Rome, 1805: Nos. 82 and 83) and in Spangenberg's 'Juris Romani Tabulae Negotiorum Sollemnium' (Leipsic, 1822, pp. 164-173), and copiously commented upon by both authors. NOTE B.

It is written on papyrus, and has been torn into two parts, one of which is now preserved in the Theatine Monastery of St. Paul at Naples, the other in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Notwithstanding this wide severance of the fragments, there appears to be no doubt of their having once belonged to the same document. The writing is cursive, of a bold and flowing character, without any spaces between the words, and quite undecipherable except by an expert.

To make the document intelligible we must explain the pecuniary transactions of Odovacar (thus his name is spelt throughout the deed) and his Count of the Domestics, Pierius.

The king had promised to bestow upon his minister a yearly revenue of 690 solidi (£414). The larger part of this donation had been already accomplished. Pierius had, before the execution of these presents, received

the <i>Massa</i> (Estate) of the Pyramid ¹ in	
the territory of Syracuse, yielding an	
annual rental of	450 solidi
and in the Province of Dalmatia the	
island of Melita (<i>not</i> our Malta but	
Meleda), yielding	200 solidi
	650 (= £390)

¹ According to Marini there was a pyramid of great height at Thapsus, about 8 miles from Syracuse, which was destroyed by an earthquake so recently as 1542. From this pyramid, it is suggested, the *Massa Pyramitana* received its name.

NOTE B. This leaves only a revenue of 40 solidi (£24) to provide, and in order to effect this, and in fact to give him a trifle over, Odovacar conveys to him

- (1) the Aemilian farm (Fundus Aemilianus), yielding . . . 18 solidi
- (2) the remaining part of the farm Dublus, yielding . . . 15 and 18 siliquae¹
(= $\frac{3}{4}$ of a solidus)
- (3) part of the farm of Putaxia (?)
(names of the tenants Januarius and Octedius) . . . 7 solidi

thus making a total of . . . 40 $\frac{3}{4}$ solidi.

After this explanation we may proceed to copy the Deed itself:—

‘(Viro) Inlustri ac magn(ifico) (Fr)atri Pierio Odovacar Rex Ex sexcentis nonaginta solidis quos Magnitudini tuae Humanitas nostra devoverat conferendos, sexcentos (quinquaginta ju)xta nostrae donationis tenorem viri sublimis Comititis et Vicedomini nostri Ardori didicimus (sugges)tione contraditos, id est intra ps (presens) [or ? provincias] Syracusano territorio (Pyramitana Mass.) solidos quadringentos quinquaginta et in Provincia Dalmatiarum Insulam Melitam (du)cen(tos) (so)lidos pensitantem reliquos ergo solidos quadraginta (de praefatam summ)am in s(upra) s(criptam) Massam fundos, id est Aemilianum prestantem solidos decem et octo et parte(m fun)di Dubli quae remansit solidos quindecim siliquas (decem et octo) nec non et parte(m fundi Puta)xiae qui (p)rest(at p)er (Ja)nuarium et Octedium (solidos) septem s(upra) s(cripto) territorio (con)stitutos volentes supplere (sum)mam superius con-(pr)aeh(ensam pr)aesenti donatione in t(e) cum omni jure suo omnibusque ad se pertinentibus jure directo transcribimus adque ad tuum dominium optima profitemur lege migrasse quos utendi possidendi alienandi vel ad posteros transmittendi livero [libero] potiaris arvitrio [arbitrio]

¹ The *siliqua* was the 24th part of a solidus.

quam donationem Marciano v(iro) c(larissimo) Notario NOTE B.
nostro scribendam dictavimus, cuique Andromacum v.
i(llum) et magnificum Magistrum Officiorum Con-
siliario nostro pro nobis suscribere jussimus tribuentes
adlegandi fiduciam ita ut a tuis Actoribus fiscalia tributa
solvantur.

‘Actum Ravenna s(upra)d(icto) quintodecimo Kal. Apri-
lium Probino v. c. Consule [A.D. 489].

‘Et alia manu subscribitio,

‘Incolumem Sublimitatem tuam divi(ni)tas tueatur, do-
mine inlustris et magnifice Frater!

‘Regestum s(ub) d(ie) et loco quo supra.’

This then was the purport of the deed. These little farms—which were in the neighbourhood of Syracuse and were meant to round off the Magnificent Pierius’ possessions in that quarter—producing, however, a total rental of only £24 9s., which we can hardly on any hypothesis stretch beyond the equivalent of £100 in our own day—are conveyed by the king to his faithful servant, with full liberty of alienating the same or transmitting them to his descendants, it being only stipulated that the *fiscalia tributa* (claims of the Exchequer, chiefly no doubt for land-tax) shall be duly paid by his bailiffs (*Actores*). There is something peculiar about the attestation of the document. Odovacar does not sign it himself—probably, as Dahn suggests¹, because he could not write—but he orders that it shall be signed by Marcian the Notary and Andromacus the Master of the Offices. Marcian gives the dry legal attestation, the place (Ravenna), and the date (18 March, 489). The Magnificent Andromacus (probably) appends the more ceremonious conclusion, ‘God have you in His holy keeping, Illustrious and Magnificent Colleague!’

The rest of the document, which it is not needful to set out at length, records the further proceedings in the matter. The *Actores* of Pierius (who are probably his freedmen, since they call him their *patronus*²) present the ‘page of

¹ K. der G. ii. 48.

² So Dahn, ii. 48.

NOTE B. the royal generosity¹ to the Magistrates² of Ravenna, headed by Aurelius Virinus, and pray that it may be received by the proper Registering Officer, read, and entered upon the proceedings³. As the Magnificent Andromacus is not forthcoming to attest his own signature, having gone from this city⁴ to Rome, they pray that certain of the magistrates⁵ will go with them to the Notary Marcian, the other attesting witness. They proceed accordingly, accompanied by a short-hand writer⁶, to the *Clarissimus* Marcian. The 'page of donation' is shown to his Nobility⁷ and read over. He is asked if he will have any objection to state⁸ without prejudice⁹ if he and the Magnificent Andromacus subscribed that paper. He replies that they did, by the command of the most Excellent King Odovacar.

All formalities as to this £40-a-year farm having been thus duly complied with at Ravenna, the residence of the grantor, it remains to take corporal possession of the property in Sicily itself.

First of all, the Acts of the Court at Ravenna are duly entered on the records of the Court at Syracuse¹⁰. Then Gregory the Chartarius (an officer whose subordinate rank is indicated by his epithet *devotus* and his title *tua Devotio* instead of *vestra Nobilitas* or *vestra Magnitudo*) is summoned by the Magistrates into their presence. Inasmuch as their public duties will not permit them to leave the city, Gregory is ordered to go forth with the Actores of Pierius, having received the 'royal page' with all due devotion, that it may be completed by 'corporal tradition' of the property¹¹.

¹ Pagina regiae largitatis.

² Decurions (!).

³ Ut eandem a competenti officio suscipi jubeatis legi et actis indi.

⁴ Ex ac civitate.

⁵ Principales.

⁶ Exceptor.

⁷ Hostensa ejus Nobilitati. The office of Notary was recognised in the Theodosian Code as a *Militia Nobilis*.

⁸ Si edicere non gravetur.

⁹ Absque sui injuriâ.

¹⁰ Magistratus dixerunt, 'Gesta Gestis nectentur, adque si quid aliud est agendum, inter acta designetur.'

¹¹ Magistratus dixerunt, 'Quoniam nobis insistendum est in actibus

The reader will observe the introduction of the name of **NOTE B.**
Amantius. He, as we learn from another part of the document, is 'vir praeclarus Decemprimus,' chief, that is to say, of one of the *Decuriae* (usually ten in number and containing ten members) into which the local Senate is divided. He is called by the Magistrates 'Frater et Concurialis noster.'

The legal procession walks forth to the several farms named in the deed. Something—a tantalising flaw in the MS. prevents us from saying what—is said or done to the tenants¹ and slaves. Then they go round all the boundaries and traverse every field, whether cultivated or lying waste. 'Corporal tradition' of all is given to the *Actores* of Pierius, no man opposing it².

They return to Syracuse. Amantius reports that all formalities have been duly observed. The *Actores* are asked if they are willing to undertake the fiscal obligations of the land. They reply that they are willing, and request that the name of the former owner may be removed from the public register, and that of their master substituted³. This is done⁴. The *laudabilis* Amantius appends his signature and the transaction is complete.

The length of the documents relating to so small a property, the particularity of the recitals, the exactness with which the performance of every formality is described,

publicis, et non possumus egredi omnes, pagina regia suscipiatur cum devotione, et a Gregorio, Amantioque et praesentibus Actoribus Pieri viri illustris traditio corporalis proventum suum accipiat.'

¹ Thus one may perhaps render *inquilinos*. Is not the word here really equivalent to *colonos*?

² Et cum hodie ambulassent et pervenissent ad singula praedia, adque introissent . . . et inquilinos sive servos, et circuissent omnes fines, terminos, agros, arbos [= arvos], cultos vel incultos seu . . . et traditio corporalis celebrata fuisset Actoribus Pieri v. i. nullo contradicente, et alio die ad civitatem reversi fuissent et in publicum pervidissent, etc.

³ Et parati sumus, singulis annis pro eadem praedia fiscalia competentia solvere, unde rogamus uti jubeatis a polyptichis publicis nomen prioris dominii suspendi et nostri dominii adscribi.

⁴ The registers which are first called *polyptichi* are, for some reason or other, afterwards referred to as *vasaria publica*.

NOTE B. the care with which the various gradations in the official hierarchy are marked, the reverence which is professed for the mandate of Odovacar¹, all show us that we are still in presence of the unbroken and yet working machinery of the Roman law: though the hand, not of a Roman citizen, born on the Mediterranean shores, but of a full-blooded barbarian from the Danube, is that which must, at the last resort, control its movements.

¹ *Præcepta regalia vel sublimia.*

1000

1000

CHAPTER V.

THE RUGIAN WAR.

Authorities.

Sources :—

EXCEPT for two short entries in CUSPINIANI ANONYMUS BOOK IV. and the Chronicle of CASSIODORUS, and a paragraph in CH. 5. PAULUS DIACONUS (eighth century), this chapter is entirely founded on the very valuable and nearly contemporary 'Life of Saint Severinus,' by EUGIPPIUS. This Life, which was written in the year 511 by the second Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Severinus, gives us, with of course the usual ecclesiastical glorification of the monastic hero, some most interesting pictures of life in the provinces of the Empire immediately after the incursion of the barbarians. Would that we had an Eugippius to tell us with similar minuteness how it fared with the Britons of Verulamium or Eboracum during their conflicts with the Teutonic invaders!

I quote from the elaborate edition of Hermann Sauspe, published in the first volume of the 'Auctores Antiquissimi' in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin, 1877).

'The Emperor stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians.' To understand the meaning of this statement, and to complete our knowledge, scanty at the best, concerning this war, which occupied the attention of Odovacar during three years of his short reign, we must turn back 486-488.

BOOK IV. to the life of the saintly hermit of Noricum, *Severinus*¹.
 CH. 5.

Misery of
 Noricum.

The picture of the long-continued and hopeless misery of a people which the biographer of the Saint draws for us is very depressing. Those lands between the Danube and the Noric Alps which now form one of the most thoroughly enjoyable portions of 'the playground of Europe,' the valleys round the Gross Glockner, the Salzkammer-gut, Salzburg with its castle rock and its noble amphitheatre of hills, Lorch with its stately monastery, Linz with its busy industries, all the fair domains of the old Archduchy of Austria down even to Vienna itself, were then in that most cruel of all positions, neither definitely subjected by the barbarian nor efficaciously protected against him, but wasted by his plundering bands at their will, though still calling themselves Roman, and possibly maintaining some faint show of official connection with Italy and the Empire. The Thuringians on the north-west and the Alamanni on the west appeared alternately under the walls of Passau², and seldom departed without carrying some of its wretched inhabitants into captivity. The latter nation of marauders pushed their ravages sometimes as far inland as to Noreia³, in the very heart of Noricum. The Ostrogoths from Pannonia levied contributions in the valley of the Drave⁴;

¹ See vol. ii. p. 526. ² Batava Castra. ³ Neumarkt in Styria.

⁴ From Teurnia, now S. Peter im Holz, about forty miles east of Lienz.

and the Suevic Hunimund, the enemy of the Ostrogoths, marching across the unhappy province to meet his foe, sacked the city of Boiotrum¹, which he surprised while the inhabitants were busy over their harvest, and shed the blood of the priests in the baptistery of the basilica².

In the midst of this anarchy, the only semblance of firm and settled government seems to have been offered by the powerful monarchy of the *Rugians*, who occupied a compact territory north of the Danube corresponding to the eastern half of Bohemia, the west of Moravia, and a part of Lower Austria. And such order as they did preserve was probably but the reservation to themselves of an exclusive right to levy contributions on the Roman provincials. 'I cannot bear,' said the Rugian king Feletheus to Severinus, 'that this people, for whom thou art interceding, should be laid waste by the cruel depredations of the Alamanni and the Thuringians, or slain by the sword or carried into slavery, when there are near to us tributary towns in which they ought to be settled.' And this was the motive for bringing a great army of Rugians against the city of Lauriacum³, in which were assembled the trembling fugitives who had escaped from the other barbaric invasions. Nor could all the exhortations of the Saint, though they seem to

BOOK IV.
CH. 5.

Kingdom
of the Ru-
gians.

¹ Innstadt, near Passau.

² Eugippius, Vita S. Severini, xxvii, xxxi, xxv, xvii, xxii; Jordanes, De Reb. Get. cap. liii.

³ Lorch on the Danube.

BOOK IV. have prevented actual bloodshed, change the barbarian's purpose of removing the Provincials (who are always spoken of by the once mighty name of Romans) out of their city of refuge and dispersing them among various towns in his own dominions, where 'they lived in benevolent companionship with the Rugians;' the benevolent companionship, doubtless, of the lamb with the wolf.

Activity of
Saint Severinus.

So long as he lived, no doubt Saint Severinus did much to soften, in individual cases, the hardships of this harassed and weary existence. In his monastery at Faviana¹ he collected great magazines of food and stores of clothing, from which he used to relieve the hunger and nakedness of the captives or refugees who travelled along the great Danubian road. But though his heart was full of pity for his brethren, his presence was not always welcomed by them. The stormy petrel of Noricum, he was constantly appearing at some still undemolished Roman settlement and prophesying to the inhabitants, 'The time of this *castellum* is come. In two days, or in three days, the barbarians who have devastated so many cities will appear before your walls.' The practical counsel of the Saint was generally contained in one of two words. It was either 'Fast' or 'Fly.' Himself an anchorite who practised the austere forms of

¹ Faviana used to be universally identified with Vienna; but it is now generally put a good deal higher up the river. Mommsen (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, iii. 687) fixes it at Mauer, about half-way between Vienna and Lorch.

self-discipline, never eating before sunset except on feast-days, and allowing himself only one meal a week in Lent, yet ever preserving, even under the stress of this abstinence, a cheerful and unruffled countenance, he loved to accompany his message of coming woe by an exhortation to the provincials to disarm the anger of the Lord by fasting and prayer¹. This counsel was not always acceptable. At Innstadt², for example, when the priests asked for relics for their church, and the merchants that leave might be obtained for them to trade with the Rugians, and when the Saint replied, 'It is of no use; the time is come for this town, like so many other *castella*, to be desolated,' a certain presbyter, filled with the spirit of the devil, cried out, 'Oh, go away, holy man! and that speedily, that we may have a little rest from fastings and watchings.' The Saint wept, for he knew that open scurrility is the evidence of secret sins; and then he prophesied of the woe that should come upon them, and how that human blood should be shed in that very baptistery in which they were

BOOK IV.
CH. 5.

¹ An instance in which these counsels of perfection were perhaps inopportunately tendered is recorded in the 26th chapter. A leper had come from Milan, attracted by the fame of the Saint. Severinus cured him of his leprosy by fasting and prayer, and counselled him to return home. The grateful suppliant begged to be allowed to remain near the holy man, who exhorted him to abide in prayer with frequent fastings. 'Fortified by these heavenly remedies he was, within the space of two months, freed from the fetters of this mortal life.'

² Boiotrum.

BOOK IV. standing. All which came true almost immediately
 CH. 5. after he had departed. Hunimund drew near to the city and took it, and the scurrilous priest was slain in that very basilica, to which he had fled for refuge ¹.

He generally dissuaded from resistance.

Once or twice the Saint lifted up his voice for war, and promised victory; but as a rule, if he did not recommend the spiritual weapons of fasting and prayer, he counselled the inhabitants to withdraw before the barbarian forces. Thus he vainly urged the people of Joviacum (a town about twenty miles below Passau) to escape before the Herulian invasion, which he foreboded, should come upon them. The citizens of Quintana², who had already fled once, to Passau, were exhorted to flee again, to Lauriacum³; and the few disobedient ones were massacred by the Thuringians. But always, during the last and dreariest years of his life, when the barbarian darkness seemed gathering most hopelessly over the doomed provincials the Saint foretold that the Romans should be delivered from their enemies, and led up out of Noricum, as Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. ‘And then,’ said he, ‘as Joseph asked his brethren, so do I beg of you, that ye carry my bones up hence. For these places, now so crowded with cultivators, shall be reduced into so mighty a solitude that the enemy, hunting for gold, shall break open even the sepulchres of the dead.’

¹ c. xxiv.

² Osterhofen, between Passau and Ratisbon.

³ Lorch.

Severinus preserved the mystery as to his origin BOOK IV.
and parentage till the end, unimparted even to his CH. 5.
nearest friends. His pure Latin speech showed Mystery as to origin of Severinus.
that there was no admixture of the barbarian in his
blood¹, and it was generally believed that he had
spent some time as a hermit in the East before he
suddenly appeared in the towns of the Danubian
Noricum. He would sometimes casually allude to
the cities of the East, and to immense journeyings
which he had in past times performed there. But
he did not permit himself to be questioned as to
his past history. Near the close of his life, an
Italian priest of noble birth and weighty character,
Primenius by name, fled to Noricum, fearing to be
involved in the fate of Orestes, of whom he had
been the confidential adviser and friend. After
many days had passed in friendly intercourse
between them, Primenius one day hazarded the
enquiry, 'Holy master, from what province first
sprang that light which God has deigned to
bestow on us in thee?' The man of God turned
aside the question with a joke: 'If you think I am
a runaway slave, get ready the ransom, that you
may offer it on my behalf when I am claimed.'
Then, more seriously, he discoursed on the unim-
portance of race or birthplace in comparison with
that Divine call which, he earnestly asserted, had

¹ 'Loquela tamen ipsius manifestabat hominem omnino lati-
num, quem constat prius ad quandam orientis solitudinem
fervore perfectioris vitae fuisse profectum atque inde post ad
Norici Ripensis oppida;' *Epistola Eugippii*, 10.

BOOK IV. led him to those regions to succour his perishing
 CH. 5. brethren.

Courtesies
 between
 him and
 Odovacar.

The young recruit whom Severinus had blessed on his journey to Italy, and to whom he had prophesied the splendid future which lay before him, beyond the Alpine horizon, was not unmindful of that early augury. King Odovacar sent to the Saint a friendly letter, promising him the fulfilment of any petition which he might choose to make. On this invitation Severinus asked for the forgiveness of a certain exile named Ambrose, and the King joyfully acceded to the request. On another occasion several noble persons were speaking about the King in the Saint's presence, and 'according to custom,' says the biographer, 'were praising him with man's flattery.' We note the presence of these 'many noble persons' of Noricum, Roman citizens no doubt, in the Saint's cell, and their high praises of the barbarian ruler of Italy, as interesting signs of the times, even if their panegyrics were, as the biographer hints, somewhat conventional and insincere. The Saint enquired, 'Who was the king thus greatly lauded?' They replied, 'Odovacar.' He answered, 'Odovacar who shall be safe between thirteen and fourteen years¹, predicting thus with accuracy the duration of the new king's unquestioned supremacy in Italy.

But the chief relations of the hermit of Noricum

¹ 'Respondentibus "Odoacrem," "Odoacer" inquit "qui integer inter tredecim et quattuordecim annos?" videlicet integritatem ejus regni significans;' cap. xxxii.

were naturally with the Rugian kings, and through his biography we gain an insight into the inner life of one of these new barbaric royalties, of which we should otherwise know nothing ¹. *Flaccitheus*, king of the Rugians (perhaps from about 430 to 460), was greatly alarmed at the vast multitude of Goths, apparently full of enmity against him, who were settled on his border in Lower Pannonia. Asking the advice of the holy man, whom he consulted like a heavenly oracle, he told him in much perturbation that he had requested from the Gothic princes ² a safe-conduct into Italy, and that the refusal of this request filled him with alarm as to their intentions. Severinus replied, 'If we were united by the bond of the One Catholic Faith I would gladly give thee advice concerning the life to come. But since thy enquiry relates only to the present life, I will tell thee that thou

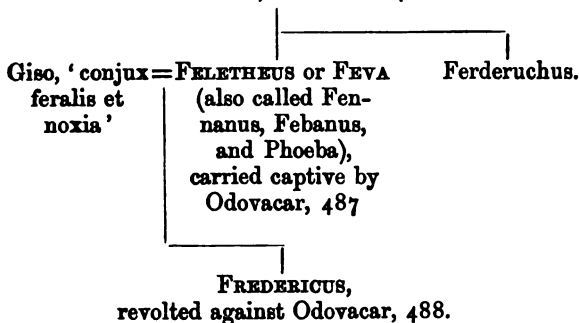
BOOK IV.
CH. 5.

Flaccitheus king of the Rugians, 430-460(?).

¹ We obtain from Eugippius the following

Genealogy of the Rugian Kings.

FLACCITHEUS, died about 460?



² 'A Gothorum principibus.' Evidently alluding to the triple royalty of Walamir, Theudemir, and Widemir.

BOOK IV. needest not be disquieted by the multitude of
 CH. 5. these Goths, since they will shortly depart and leave thee in safety. Live a peaceful life ; do not undergo the curse laid upon him "who maketh flesh his arm:" lay no snares for others, while taking heed of those laid for thyself: so shalt thou meet thine end peacefully in thy bed.'

The divine oracle soothed the anxious King, who went away greatly comforted. Soon afterwards, however, a crowd of barbarian, probably Gothic, marauders carried off a number of the Rugians, whose King again came to the Saint for counsel. By divine revelation Severinus warned him not to follow the robbers, to beware of crossing the river, and to avoid the snares which in three several places his enemies had laid for him. 'Soon shall a faithful messenger arrive who shall assure thee of the truth of all these sayings.' And in fact, very shortly afterwards, two Rugian captives, who had escaped from the dwellings of the enemy, arrived at the King's court and confirmed the Saint's predictions in every particular. The devices of the enemies of the Rugian king being thus frustrated, his affairs went on prospering, and in due time Flaccitheus died in rest and tranquillity.

His suc-
 cessor,
 Feletheus
 or Feva,
 460-487.

To him succeeded his son *Feletheus* or *Feva*, who at first followed his father's example, and was guided in all things by the counsels of the holy hermit. But before long the influence of his wife, the cruel and guilty Giso, began to assert itself, always in opposition to the healthful spirit of

divine grace. This woman (evidently an Arian), BOOK IV.
CH. 5. among her other infamous actions, even sought to re-baptize certain Catholics, but was obliged to desist when her husband, out of reverence for Saint Severinus, forbade the sacrilegious deed¹. This queen was wont to cause certain of the 'Romans' (that is, provincials) to be carried across the Danube and there kept in bitter bondage. This had she once done with some of the inhabitants of Faviana, whom, when carried captive, she condemned to slavery of the most degrading kind. Severinus, grieving for his neighbours, sent messengers entreating her to restore them to their homes. But she, flaming out in violent wrath, returned a message of angry contempt to the hermit: 'Go, oh slave of God! skulk into your cell to pray, and let me issue such orders concerning *my* slaves as I think fit.' The Saint, when he received this answer, said, 'I trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, who will make her do of necessity that which her evil will refuses to do at my request.'

That very day the judgment of God came upon the arrogant queen. There were certain barbarian goldsmiths who were kept close prisoners in the palace and obliged to work all day at ornaments for the royal family. The little prince Frederic, The Goldsmiths and the Princes.

¹ 'Hunc conjux feralis et noxia, nomine Giso, semper a clementiae remediis retrahebat. Haec ergo, inter cetera iniquitatis suae contagia etiam rebaptizare quosdam est conata Catholicos, sed ob sancti reverentiam Severini non consentiente viro, a sacrilega quantocius intentione defecit' (cap. viii).

BOOK IV. son of Feletheus and Giso, out of childish curiosity
 CH. 5.

(and perhaps attracted by the glitter of the gold) ventured in amongst these men. The workmen at once caught up a sword, and held it to the child's throat. 'No one,' said they, 'shall now enter this room unless our lives and our liberty are assured to us by oath. If this be refused we will first kill the child and then ourselves, for we are made desperate by the misery of this dungeon.' The cruel and wicked queen at once perceived that the vengeance of God had come upon her for her insults to the holy man. She sent horsemen to implore his pardon, and restored to their homes the Roman captives for whom he had that day interceded. The goldsmiths received a sworn assurance of safety, upon which they let the child go, and were themselves dismissed in peace. The revered servant of Christ recognised the good hand of his God in this interposition, which had actually accomplished more than he asked for, since not only the Roman captives but the oppressed barbarian gold-workers had obtained their freedom. The queen and her husband hastened to his cell, exhibited the son whom they acknowledged themselves to have received back from the very gates of death through his intercession, and promised obedience to all his commands in future¹.

Soldiers
 on the
Limes.

One instance of the prescience of the Saint may be noticed here, because it incidentally throws some light on the condition of the soldiers who

¹ Cap. viii.

guarded the boundaries of the Empire. What happened to the legions on the Danubian *limes* may easily have occurred also to those stationed *per lineam valli* in our own island. 'At the time,' says Eugippius, 'when the Roman Empire still held together, the soldiers of many towns were supported by public pay for the better guardianship of the *limes* ¹.' This obscure sentence perhaps means that local troops were drafted off to the *limes*, and there received, as was natural, imperial pay and equipments. 'When this custom ceased, the squadrons (*turmae*) of cavalry were obliterated; but the Batavian legion (stationed at Passau) lasted as long as the *limes* itself stood. From this legion certain soldiers had gone forth to Italy to bear to their comrades their last pay, and these men had been slain on the march by the barbarians, no one knowing thereof ². On a certain day, while Severinus was reading in his cell, suddenly he closed the *codex* and began to weep and sigh. Then he told the by-standers to run quickly to the river's brink, which, as he affirmed, was in that very hour stained with human gore. And immediately word was brought that the bodies

¹ 'Per id tempus, quo Romanum constabat imperium, multorum milites oppidorum pro custodia limitis publicis stipendiis alebantur' (cap. xx).

² 'Qua consuetudine desinente simul militares turmae sunt deletae, cum limite Batavino utcunque numero perdurante (?) ex quo perrexerant quidam ad Italiam extremum stipendium commilitonibus allaturi, quos in itinere peremptos a barbaris nullus agnoverat.' These sentences are interesting but difficult.

BOOK IV. of the aforesaid soldiers had just been swept on
 CH. 5. shore by the force of the stream.'

Death of
 Severinus,
 482 (1).

At length the time drew near for the saint to die. Of the very day of his death, as of so many of the events which had made his life memorable, it was believed that he had an intimation from Heaven. Not long before it arrived he sent for the king and queen of the Rugians. 'Giso,' said he to the queen, 'dost thou love this man' (pointing to the king) 'or silver and gold best?' 'My husband better than all wealth,' said she. 'Then,' he said, 'cease to oppress the innocent, lest their affliction be the cause of the scattering of your power: for thou dost often pervert the mildness of the king. Hitherto God has prospered your kingdom. Henceforward you will see ——' The royal couple took leave of him and departed.

Next stood Ferderuchus by his bed-side—Ferderuchus the king's brother, who had received from Feletheus a present of the few Roman towns remaining on the Danube, Faviana among them. Severinus spoke of his own imminent departure, and besought the prince not to draw down upon himself the Divine wrath, by touching the stores collected during the saint's lifetime for the poor and the captives. Ferderuchus eagerly disclaimed the intention imputed to him, and professed a desire to follow the pious footsteps of his father Flaccitheus. But Severinus replied, 'On the very first opportunity thou wilt violate this my cell and wilt be punished for it in a manner which

I do not desire.' Ferderuchus repeated his protestations of obedience and departed. The Saint knew his covetous nature better, perchance, than he did himself. The end followed speedily. At midnight Severinus called his monks to him, exhorted them to persevere according to their vocation, kissed each one of them, made the sign of the cross, and died, while they were reciting around him the 150th Psalm. Scarcely was his worn body laid in the slight shell which the brethren had prepared for it, mindful of his prophecy concerning their speedy migration southwards, when Ferderuchus, 'poor and impious, and made ever more ruthless by his barbarous avarice,' bore down upon the monastery, determined to carry off the stores of raiment collected there for the use of the poor. When these were swept away he proceeded to take the sacred vessels from the altar. His steward¹ did not dare to execute this part of his master's commands himself, but deputed the work to a soldier named Avitianus, whose unwilling sacrilege was punished by an immediate attack of St. Vitus's dance. Alarmed and penitent, the soldier turned monk, and ended his days in solitude on a distant island. Meanwhile the covetous Ferderuchus, unmindful of the dying saint's exhortations and of his own promises, continued to ransack the monastery, and finally carried off everything except the bare walls, which he could not convey across the Danube to his

BOOK IV.
CH. 5.8 Jan.
482 (?)Faithless-
ness of
Ferde-
ruchus.¹ 'Villicus.'

BOOK IV. own land¹. But vengeance soon overtook him;
 CH. 5. for before a month had elapsed, being slain by
 His death. Frederic his brother's son (the boy who once
 wandered into the workshop of the goldsmiths,
 now grown up to manhood), he lost both booty
 and life.

Odovacar
 avenges
 Ferde-
 ruchus.

These events occurred in the early part of 482, and they are connected—but precisely how connected it is impossible to say—with the war which Odovacar, five years later, waged against the Rugians. The biographer of Severinus, after describing the defeat of Ferderuchus by his nephew and the death of the former, says, 'For which cause king Odovacar made war upon the Rugians.' But as the sacrilegious inroad of Ferderuchus seems to have followed close upon the death of the Saint, which certainly happened in 482, and is expressly stated to have been followed in its turn by the expedition of Frederic, and as Odovacar's Rugian war did not break out before the end of 486 (being in fact assigned by two chroniclers² to the year 487), it is clear that the death of Ferderuchus was not *immediately* avenged by the Italian king. Possibly (but this is a mere conjecture) some brotherhood in arms may have connected Odovacar and Ferderuchus in old days, when the former was still an adventurer in Nori-

¹ 'Ferderuchus autem immemor contestationis et præsagii sancti viri abrasis omnibus monasterii rebus, parietes tantum, quos Danuvio non potuit transferre, dimisit' (cap. xlv).

² Cuspiniani Anon. and Cassiodorus.

cum, and he may have been bound by Teutonic notions of honour to avenge, sooner or later, the death of his comrade. Possibly the increased sufferings of the provincials at the hands of the Rugians, after the death of Saint Severinus, may have called upon a king, who now in some sort represented the majesty of Rome, to redress their wrongs¹. At any rate, in these elements of strife, and in the fact that between the Alps and the Danube no other barbarian power existed which could vie with the monarchy of Feletheus, we find some explanation of the sentence in which John of Antioch informed us that 'the Emperor Zeno stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians.'

The events of the war are soon told. Possibly the Rugians made some movement against Odoacar in 486. It is certain that in 487 he returned the blow, invaded their territory, put the young general Frederic to flight, and carried Feletheus (or Feva) 'and his wicked wife' prisoners to Ravenna².

Afterwards, probably in the following year, Odoacar was informed that Frederic had returned to his own land, upon which he sent his brother Onöulf with a large army against him. Frederic

¹ I can hardly, however, attribute so much force to this motive as Pallmann (ii. 403) does: since it seems improbable that Zeno should have sided with the Rugians if Odoacar was simply championing the 'Romans.'

² Cuspiniani Anonymus, sub anno 487. He calls the king Fennanius: but one editor reads Feunanus, another Febanus. Cassiodori Chronicon. Eugippius, Vita Severini, xlv.

BOOK IV. was again forced to flee, and betook himself to
 CH. 5. Theodoric the Amal, who was then dwelling at
 Novae (probably the place which is now the Bulgarian town of Sistova), on the Lower Danube ¹.

Emigration
 of provin-
 cials from
 Noricum,
 488,

taking the
 body of
 Severinus.

After this conquest of *Rugiland* (so Paulus Diaconus informs us that the country of the Rugians was called ²) the emigration of Roman provincials into Italy took place, as foretold by Severinus. Onöulf ordered it; Pierius, Count of the Domestics (who received from Odovacar the deed of gift mentioned in the last chapter), superintended the doing of it. A certain aged priest named Lucillus, to whom Severinus had predicted his decease, and who had then replied, 'Surely I shall go before thee,' was still living, and directed the removal of his remains, which, mindful of the Saint's injunction, the emigrants were set upon carrying up out of the land of bondage. They went at evening, chanting psalms, to the Saint's resting-place. The usual mediaeval marvels of the charnel-house followed,—the body found undecaying, though unembalmed, after six years' entombment, even the hair and the beard still untouched, a sweet odour filling all the neighbourhood of the tomb. The body, with its cerements unchanged, was placed in a chest, which had been prepared some time before in anticipation of the removal, set upon a waggon (*carpentam*), and drawn by horses over the mountainous passes which separate Noricum from Italy.

¹ Eugippius, Vita Severini, cap. xliv.

² De Gestis Langobardorum, i. 19.

In the sad procession which followed the relics of the saint walked all the Roman inhabitants of Noricum, leaving the ruined towns by the Danube for the new homes allotted to each of them in Italy¹.

After long journeyings, the body of the Saint reached a village (*castellum*) called Mons Feletis (possibly Felitto in Campania, about fifteen miles east of Paestum), and there it abode during at least four of the troublous years that followed², healing the sick, giving speech to the dumb, and working the usual wonders that attested the genuineness of a Saint's relics in the fifth century. But, after a time, a devout and illustrious widow named Barbaria, who had known the Saint by report during his life, whose husband had often corresponded with him, and who now greatly venerated his memory, finding that his body, though brought with all honour to Italy, yet lacked a permanent resting-place, sent to Marcian the presbyter and the congregation of monks which had gathered round the sacred relics, inviting them to lay their precious deposit within her domain. The Pope, Gelasius, gave his consent. All the dwellers in

BOOK IV.
CH. 5.

The Monks
invited to
the Lucul-
lanum;

¹ 'Linteaminibus igitur immutatis in loculo multo ante jam tempore praeeparato funus includitur, carpento trahentibus equis impositum mox evehitur, cunctis nobiscum provincialibus idem iter agentibus, qui oppidis super ripam Danuvii derelictis per diversas Italiae regiones varias suae peregrinationis sortiti sunt sedes' (cap. xlv).

² The next removal was under the pontificate of Pope Gelasius, which did not commence till 492.

BOOK IV. Naples poured forth to receive in reverence the
CH. 5. body of the Saint, and it was duly laid, according to her invitation, 'in the Lucullan Castle,' where a monastery was founded, presided over, first by Marcian and then by Eugippius, the biographer to whom we owe these details. The usual miracles were wrought by the sacred bones. A blind man was restored to sight. The chief of the Neapolitan choir was cured of a most stubborn head-ache by leaning his forehead against the dead man's bier. Demons were cast out, and innumerable other miracles of bodily and mental healing perpetuated the fame of Saint Severinus of Noricum till the fear of the Saracen marauders caused tomb and monastery to be transported to the safer asylum of Naples.

possibly by
 the mother
 of Augustus.

But who was the illustrious lady who invited the monks to settle on her land? and what is the Lucullan Castle where Severinus was laid? It is impossible to prove, but we may venture a conjecture that this widow Barbaria, evidently a lady of high rank, is none other than the mother of Romulus Augustulus. She too sprang from Noricum, her husband Orestes had doubtless often corresponded with Severinus concerning the affairs of the provincials in that country. Yet they might well have known the Saint by fame only, not by personal intercourse, since, about the same time that Severinus suddenly appeared by the banks of the Danube (shortly after the death of Attila), Orestes, accompanied doubtless by his wife, must have left his native

country, Pannonia, and come to seek his fortune in Italy. These, however, are but slight coincidences; but when it is remembered that it was to 'the Lucullan Castle' that Augustulus was consigned by the barbarian conqueror, our conjecture rises many degrees in probability. It is true that nothing is said as to his being accompanied by his mother, but this companionship, in itself probable, is rendered yet more so by a letter written by command of Theodoric to *Romulus and his mother*¹, which we find in the official correspondence of Cassiodorus.

As for the Lucullanum (whose site was left somewhat doubtful when it was previously mentioned in this history²), it seems to be agreed by the best antiquaries of Naples that it corresponds, as nearly as the alteration of the coast-line will permit, with the Castel dell' Ovo, that remarkable island or peninsula which juts out from the shore of modern Naples between the Chiaja and the Military Harbour. Perhaps some of the mainland in the modern quarter of Santa Lucia, lying westward of the present Royal Palace, went to make up the pleasure-grounds and to form the fishponds of the luxurious conqueror of Mithridates, that Lucullanum which was the gilded prison of the last Roman Emperor of Rome³.

Position of
the Lucul-
lanum
(Castel
dell' Ovo).

¹ Cassiodor. Variarum, iii. 35.

² Vol. ii. p. 536.

³ For this identification of the Castel dell' Ovo with the Lucullanum I may refer to J. Beloch's careful treatise on Campanian topography, *Campanien* (Berlin, 1879). He says (p. 81): 'The island of Megaris came, later on, into the possession of

BOOK IV. Lucullus, and formed the nucleus of his far-famed Neapolitan villa. It is the "*insula clarissimi adolescentis Luculli*" whither Cicero came with Brutus after the murder of Caesar (Phil. x. 4. 8). . . . The Villa, however, of course did not limit itself to the narrow space of the island, but spread over the neighbouring mainland as far as the rocks of Chiatamone and the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Reale and Castel Nuovo. After the time of the Normans the island came to be known as the Castel dell' Ovo.'

NOTE C. ODOVACAR'S NAME IN AN INSCRIPTION AT
SALZBURG.

A READER of this book, visiting Salzburg, might, unless NOTE C.
forewarned, think that he had stumbled upon an impor-
tant contribution to our scanty knowledge of the acts of
Odoacar.

In the side of the Mönchsberg, a steep cliff immediately above the church and cemetery of St. Peter, there are two caves which tradition connects with the memory of Maximus, who is said to have suffered death at the hands of the barbarians in the year 476 or 477. There is still visible in the cave this inscription on a stone: 'Anno Domini 477 Odoacer, rex Ruthenorum, Gepidi, Gothi, Hungari et Heruli contra ecclesiam Dei saevientes beatum Maximum cum sociis 50 in hoc spelaeo latitantibus ob confessionem fidei praecipitatos trucidarunt, Noricorum quoque provinciam ferro et igne demoliti sunt.'

There was also a wooden tablet (now, I think, removed to the Museum) bearing a long inscription, the most important sentences of which, for our purpose, are the following: 'Quo [Attila] mortuo regnante Zenone imperatore anno Domini 477 Odoacer, natione Rhutenus, Romam cum Herulis ingreditur, Latinos annis 14 opprimens. Interea Gepidi, Gothi, Hungari et Heruli Noricorum provinciam atroci perturbant praelio, civitates Histriae adjacentes depopulando; etiam contra Juvaviam, quae inter civitates Bavaricas eminebat nobilissima, aciem dirigunt, quod vir Dei Severinus, episcopus Ravennensis . . . in spiritu cognovit etc. . . . Eadem nocte Barbari Hungari, Gothi et Heruli insperato irruentes civitatem diripiunt, plures captivos ducentes, presbyterum vero Maximum patibulo suspenderunt, ceteris circa quinquaginta in spelaeo petrae latitantibus trucidatis et de monte praecipitatis,' etc.

In spite of the minuteness of their details, and of the very interesting place with which they are connected, these

NOTE C. two inscriptions are of no historical value. Both of them give the date according to the computation of Dionysius Exiguus, from the birth of our Lord; that fact alone makes it impossible that they could be in any sense contemporary documents. (The Dionysian computation was not adopted even in Italy till about 530.) Nor, if the date were treated as an alteration of later times, will the substance of the inscriptions stand the test of criticism any better. Both introduce the Hungarians into the list of the assailants of Juvavia, and the Hungarians did not appear in Europe till the ninth century. Both make Odovacar a Ruthene instead of a Rugian, the Ruthenians having apparently emerged not long before the Hungarians. The inscription on the wooden tablet makes Severinus bishop of *Ravenna*,—a ridiculous blunder. It would require fuller data than I possess, to decide when these inscriptions were really placed in the caves, but probably not earlier than the fall of the monarchy of the Avars in 796 (soon after which time German civilisation began to rear Salzburg on the ruins of Juvavia), perhaps much later.

The same remarks which have been made as to the inscriptions apply to a work entitled 'Historia de origine, consecratione et reparatione speluncae seu eremitorii ejusque capellae in monte prope coemeterium sancti Petri in civitate Salisburgensi, ex antiquissimis monumentis et manuscriptis in lucem protracta' (printed in 1661).

The historian of Roman Salzburg, Dr. Ignaz Schumann von Mannsegg (in his monograph 'Juvavia' published 1842), comments on this MS. at considerable length (pp. 247-261), while admitting that it is not entirely accurate. But it also mentions Hungarians among the invaders, and is evidently a comparatively late production, not at all deserving the attention which Dr. Schumann has given to it. The only reason for alluding to it at all is that it speaks of Odovacar as an ordinary barbarian king and invader ('Eodem anno 476 ille Rugiorum princeps Odoacer

exercitum suum ingentem et fortissimum per has Noricales terras in Italiam duxerat,' etc.). And if this little treatise had any contemporary authority at all, we might be forced by it to reconsider the theory, now admitted by all scholars, that Odovacar was not in form a foreign invader, but rather a ringleader of mutinous soldiers in the pay of the Empire.

NOTE C.

The caves in the Mönchsberg, and the cemetery of St. Peter below them, are extremely interesting, and probably do carry us back to the earliest days of Christian Juvavia. It is quite possible that monks under the presidency of a certain Maximus may have congregated there after a partial destruction of the city by the Huns in 452. Quite possible too that Maximus and fifty of his companions may have been hurled down the steep sides of the Mönchsberg, and so met their death at the hands of some of the barbarians who were at that time the scourge of Noricum. But it may be said positively that Odovacar had nothing to do with this massacre, and it may be almost as strongly asserted that 'the heretic Widemir' (the Ostrogoth), whom the MS. 'de Origine' tries to connect with it, was also guiltless, and very likely entirely ignorant of the cruel deed.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEATH-GRAPPLE.

Authorities.

Sources:—

BOOK IV. OUR most important authority for this period is ENNODIUS, Bishop of Ticinum (473 to 521). Some facts are drawn from his life of Epiphanius already described (vol. ii. p. 479). But much more important for our present purpose is his 'Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theodorico.' This oration was addressed by Ennodius (not yet Bishop of Ticinum) to Theodoric between the years 504 and 508, less than twenty years after the events recorded in this chapter, and it is therefore strictly a contemporary document. For obvious reasons a panegyric of a living sovereign is an unsatisfactory source to draw from. We have to deal not only with the deliberate attempt to distort history in favour of the subject of the Panegyric, but also with the natural tendency (laudable from an artistic point of view) to tell the story in the presence of a chief actor in it rather by allusion and implication than by direct straightforward narration. In addition to this, the style of Ennodius is most wretched, full of turgid servility, of oratorical tricks which do not deceive, of enigmas which, when by great pains you have mastered their solution, prove to be nonsense. Manso (*Geschichte der Ostgothen*, p. 435) truly says, 'Adeo omnia sunt plena argutiarum et ineptiarum, tot undique calamistri adhibiti, tot mira verborum et compositionum monstra ut nauseam moveat oratio turgida atque inflata, stomachum ambigua atque obscura.' On a first perusal the reader can hardly

see anything but this miserable style: but when he comes back to the Panegyric, compares it with the chroniclers, sees how their short matter-of-fact sentences lighten up its darkness and explain its mysterious hints, he will find that it is really a document of great historical value, and deserving of serious study. Above all, the *silence* of Ennodius is noteworthy. It is an important fact, in reference to one of the most memorable passages of Theodoric's life, that his Panegyrist says not one word, good or bad, about the death of Odovacar. (Quotations are made from the edition in Migne's 'Patrologia,' vol. 63.)

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.

Next in importance to the Panegyric is the document entitled by German scholars the *ANNALS OF RAVENNA* ('die Ravennatische Fasten'), a calendar of important events affecting the city of Ravenna in particular and Italy in general, kept possibly by some clerical person in connection with the metropolitan church, and for the most part recording not the year only but the precise day of each notable occurrence. This, though now no longer extant, was evidently the source from which (1) *ANONYMUS VALESII*¹, (2) *CONTINUATIO PROSPERI*², (3) *CUSPINIANI CHRONICON*³, (4) *AGNELLI*⁴ (in his lives of the Bishops of Ravenna) drew their materials.

Referring the reader to the previous description of these writers, it will be sufficient here to add that the first two are for this period far the most important. *Anonymus Valesii* shows, as was previously stated, a strong bias towards the Emperor Zeno, and, though not unfriendly to Theodoric, looks at all Italian matters as much as possible from the Byzantine point of view. It is characteristic of this writer that he on every possible occasion gives Theodoric the title of *Patricius*, which he had received by grant of the Eastern Augustus.

Prosper's Continuer (otherwise called the Chronographer of 641, from the period to which the chronicle is con-

¹ See ii. 487.

² See i. 279.

³ See ii. 211-2.

⁴ See i. 472-3.

BOOK IV. tinued¹, or Codex Havniensis from the place where the
 CH. 6. MS. is now preserved) tells the story with more fire and
 fulness than the Anonymus Valesii, and shows perhaps
 less of the Byzantine bias. He is, however, less to be
 relied on for his chronology. In fact, for exact chronology
 we are obliged to go to the somewhat meagre entries of
 CASSIODORUS.

The note at the end of this chapter will show the
 curious verbal correspondences between the four sources
 mentioned above. Their connection is the more remark-
 able, because, while the first three are probably contem-
 poraries, or nearly contemporaries, of Theodoric, Agnellus
 is certainly separated from him by an interval of more
 than 300 years. The wildly inaccurate chronology of
 Agnellus, who at this very period tries to crowd Attila's
 invasion (452) and Odovacar's downfall (493) both into
 the same pontificate (of Joannes Angeloptes), telling us
 at the same time that he ruled 'sixteen years, ten months,
 and eighteen days,' would have disposed us to throw aside
 his compilation as altogether valueless for history. But
 the minute correspondence of some of his sentences with
 the other authorities who drew from the Annals of
 Ravenna, shows that we should be mistaken if we re-
 jected him altogether, and that he was really, in part at
 least, copying from authorities who were contemporary
 with the events described.

JORDANES is very meagre here, and gives little help for
 this part of the history.

PROCOPIUS is somewhat fuller, but less trustworthy, being
 imperfectly acquainted with what happened in Italy fifty
 years before his time.

The HISTORIA MISCELLA may enshrine some genuine

¹ In the first volume it was said that this continuation reaches to the
 year 514. This is not accurate, as the chronicle reaches to 641. But all
 that is really valuable in the continuation, all that can be referred to the
 'Annals of Ravenna,' ends with 514. What follows after this is extracted
 verbatim from Isidore of Seville. It is to be regretted that this valuable
 document has not been reprinted except in G. Hille's 'Doctoral Thesis'
 (Berlin, 1866).

traditions of history, but there are evidences in it of literary compilation, especially from Ennodius, and its late date (eighth century) prevents our treating it as an authority of the first rank.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.

The account of the death of Odovacar, an interesting little bit of narrative full of the minute touches of a contemporary, perhaps an eyewitness, is preserved for us by JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, copying no doubt from some earlier writer. This is fragment 214 in the *fifth* volume of Müller's 'Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.' (Most of the extracts from Joannes are in the fourth volume of this series.)

IN the preceding chapter we saw that Frederic, the last scion of the Rugian stock, after his unsuccessful revolt fled before the army commanded by the brother of Odovacar, and sought refuge at the Court of Theodoric. Perhaps the injury done to one who was certainly an ally, and who may have been a kinsman, quickened the preparations of Theodoric. Or perhaps his bargain with the Byzantine Court having been concluded, he had been given to understand that he and his *foederati*, who had now received a commission to invade Italy, must look for no more rations or pay from the imperial treasury. Certain it is that, at what seems to us a most unseasonable time for such a march, in the late autumn of 488, he broke up his court or camp or settlement at Sistova, that high fortress on the south of the Danube overlooking what is now the flat and marshy Wallachian shore, and started with his nation-army on the long and difficult journey to Italy.

Theodoric
starts for
Italy,
488.

BOOK IV. Seldom, since Moses led the Children of Israel
 CH. 6. through the wilderness, has a more ill-compacted

488.
 Family
 aspect of
 the migra-
 tion.

host attempted to penetrate through hostile countries and to win, by the edge of the sword, a new possession. In the case of Alaric, and of others of the great Teutonic chiefs, we have already had our attention called, by Claudian and other authorities, to the *family* aspect of their marches, migrations rather than campaigns. But of this journey of Theodoric the emphatic language of contemporaries justifies us in saying, that it was preeminently a *nation*, in all its strength and all its helplessness, that accompanied him. His own family, mother, sisters, nephews, evidently were with him, as before on the march to Dyrrhachium. And as with the chief, so with the people. Procopius says, 'With Theodoric went the people of the Goths, putting their wives and children and as much of their furniture as they could take with them into their waggons¹.' Somewhat more minutely, but with too much of his usual vapid rhetoric, says Theodoric's panegyrist, Ennodius, 'Then, after you had summoned all your powers far and wide, the people, scattered through countless tribes, come together again as one nation, and a *world* migrates with you to the Ausonian land, a world every member of which is nevertheless your kinsman². Waggons are made to do duty

¹ Καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Γότθων λεώς εἶπετο, παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθήμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλά ὅσα φέρειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν (De Bello Gothico, i. 1).

² I suppose this is the meaning of 'nullus praeter parentem

as houses, and into those wandering habitations BOOK IV.
all things that can minister to the needs of the CH. 6.
occupants are poured. Then were the tools of 488.
Ceres, and the stones with which the corn is
ground, dragged along by the labouring oxen.
Pregnant mothers, forgetful of their sex and of
the burden which they bore, undertook the
toil of providing food for the families of thy
people. Followed the reign of winter in thy
camp. Over the hair of thy men the long frost
threw a vail of snowy white; the icicles hung
in a tangle from their beards. So hard was the
frost that the garment which the matron's perse-
vering toil had woven (for her husband) had to
be broken before he could fit it to his body.
Food for thy marching armies was forced from the
grasp of the hostile nations around, or procured
by the cunning of the hunter¹.

The question has been often asked, what must Number of
we suppose to have been the number of this the host.
moving multitude? The calculation can be only
conjectural, but the data that we have point to
a high figure. In the campaign in Epirus², as the
reader may remember, the defeat of the mere rear-
iter arripuit.' It would be absurd to say that every one who
set out on the journey was a parent.

¹ Ennodius, Panegyricus, p. 173. It is this passage which
seems to compel us, contrary to probability, to fix the departure
of Theodoric for the late autumn or winter of 488. But as
Ennodius is drawing a general picture, I am not sure that the
winter of 489, passed by the Goths in Lombardy, would not
satisfy his description.

² Described in chap. iii.

BOOK IV. guard of the Ostrogothic army led to the capture of
 CH. 6. 5000 prisoners (a yet larger number having been
 488. cut to pieces), and put 2000 waggons at the disposal
 of the Byzantine host. In the same campaign a
 body of 6000 men, the most valiant in the army,
 are spoken of by Theodoric as a sort of flying
 column with which he was willing to march into
 Thrace and annihilate the forces of the son of
 Triarius; while that rival, on making his peace
 with the Empire, had obtained the promise of
 rations and pay for 13,000 men, to be selected by
 himself from the number of his followers. Looking
 at these facts, remembering that probably many
 of the Triarian Goths had joined Theodoric's
 standard after the extinction of the family of
 their leader, and that some, perhaps many, Ru-
 gians must have followed the fugitive Frederic
 into his camp, we shall probably be safe in esti-
 mating the fighting strength of Theodoric's army
 at 40,000 men, and the total number of the nation
 on its travels at 200,000¹. If anything, this con-
 jecture is too low, since we find it stated that the
 Gothic army which besieged Rome only fifty years
 later (but they had been years of peace and un-
 exampled prosperity) consisted of not less than
 150,000 fighting men².

Accepting the moderate computation here sug-

¹ This is substantially Köpke's calculation (pp. 167-8); Dahn guesses the whole multitude at 250,000 (ii. 78); Pallmann (ii. 437) at 300,000 Goths and 40,000 or 50,000 Rugians.

² Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, i. 16 (p. 82 ed. Bonn).

gested, we can imagine, or rather we cannot imagine, the anxiety which must have gnawed the soul of Theodoric, when he had cut himself loose from his communications in Moesia, when his progress was barred by enemies upon whose neutrality he had, perhaps rashly, reckoned, when weeks lengthened into months, winter months, and still his long array, with all the sick, the children, the delicate women, with 200,000 mouths needing daily food, stood upon the snow-covered Illyrian uplands, and could not yet descend into the promised land, could not yet even see their final foe.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
488.
Difficulties
of commis-
sariat.

The first 300 miles were probably much the easiest part of the journey. They would be travelling along the great Danubian highway, perhaps the most important of all the roads connecting the eastern and western portions of the Roman Empire¹, and one which, even in those days of feebleness and decay, and after all the ravages of Goth and Hun, was still probably kept in a fair state of repair². Possibly too, as Theo-

Troubles
with the
Gepids.

¹ In the Antonine Itinerary the journey from Viminacium (near the confluence of the Morava and Danube) to Nicomedia in Bithynia (Constantinople was not then built) is traced all along the southern shore of the Danube to its mouth, then southwards along the Black Sea coast (mainly) and across the Bosphorus to the capital of Diocletian, a total distance of 1162 Roman miles, but by no means in a straight line.

² It is hardly necessary to discuss the statement of Procopius, according to which Theodoric first made for the narrow passage of the Adriatic from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium. 'But when they came close to the Ionian Gulf [Hadriatic] they were by

BOOK IV. doric was still in the territory of the now friendly
 CH. 6.
 488. empire, supplies for his followers would be forthcoming, if not from the imperial magazines, at any rate on moderate terms in the markets of the provincials. But when he reached Singidunum (Belgrade), the scene of that boyish victory of his over the Sarmatian king¹, his difficulties began, if they had not begun before. It is pretty clear from the facts, even if it were not expressly stated by Procopius², that, after the Ostrogoths performed their celebrated march to the Aegean under Theudemir (in 473), the Gepidae moved across the Danube (from Dacia into Pannonia) and occupied either the whole of the broad lands thus evacuated, or at any rate the south-eastern corner of them, including the important and still not utterly ruined cities of Singidunum and Sirmium. Now, into

no means able to cross over it, not having any ships, so, going round the head of the gulf, they moved forward through the territory of the Taulantii and the other nations in that quarter.' Against this most improbable statement, which would impute to Theodoric a want of forethought very unlike his usual character, we have to set the clear words of Jordanes, copying no doubt from Cassiodorus: 'He led his people to Italy, and *taking the straight course* by Sirmium ascended to the confines of Pannonia, whence entering the borders of Venetia he pitched his camp by the Isonzo' ('*Hesperiam tendit rectoque itinere per Sirmis ascendit vicina Pannoniae, indeque Venetiarum fines ingressus ad Pontem Sontii castra metatus est*'). 'Ascended' just fits his course up the valleys of the Drave and the Save. Probably Procopius knew vaguely of Theodoric's operations against Dyrrhachium in 479 and mixed them up with his march to Italy.

¹ See chap. i.

² De Bello Vandalico, i. 2 (vol. i. p. 313 ed. Bonn).

this corner of the land, this long strip of country (the modern province of Slavonia) between the rivers Drave and Save, Theodoric's road led him, and through it he must lead his way-worn and hungering followers; but the Gepid barred the way. An embassy was sent¹, we may imagine, with such an appeal as Moses made to Sihon king of the Amorites which dwelt at Heshbon: 'Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn into the fields, or into the vineyards; we will not drink of the waters of the well: but we will go along by the king's high way, until we be past thy borders.' Like that appeal, however, this of Theodoric's, though it might have been based on the claims of kindred and on memories of the far-distant days when the Gepids manned one boat and the Goths two in the first migration², if made, was disregarded, and the nation-army, all encumbered as it was with baggage and diluted with non-combatants, had to fight for its right of way.

The decisive engagement came off at the river Ulca, concerning which we are told that 'it is the defence of the Gepidae which protects them like a mound, gives them an audacity which they would otherwise lack, and strengthens the frontier of the province with a wall that no battering rams can crumble³.' It is not easy from this description

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
488.

The passage of the Ulca contested.

¹ 'Pro legatis et gratiae postulatione, obsistendi animo gens diu invicta properavit' (Ennodius, p. 173).

² Vol. i. p. 47.

³ Ennodius, p. 173.

BOOK IV. to identify the river in question. The Save,
 CH. 6.
 488. which at this time must have formed the southern
 boundary of the Gepid territory, would have
 seemed a probable suggestion, but we have no
 hint that it ever was called by any name like
 Ulca. On the whole, the least improbable con-
 jecture seems to be¹ that we have here to do with
 the *Hiulca Palus*², a great sheet of water (possibly
 connected with streams above and below, and
 therefore not quite incorrectly termed a river)
 which, according to the striking description of
 Zosimus³, mirrored the towers of the high hill-
 city of Cibalis, an important place, the exact site
 of which has not yet been discovered, but which
 was 101 Roman miles higher up the valley of the
 Save than Singidunum. If this identification be
 correct, the landscape on which Theodoric and his
 countrymen looked on this day of unwelcome con-
 flict, was one which had already been the theatre of
 great events, for here it was that Constantine the
 314. Great fought the first battle in that long duel
 with his brother-in-law Licinius which finally gave
 to the Christian Emperor the undisputed mastery
 of the Eastern and Western worlds. Here too,

¹ This is the view put forward by Manso (p. 453) and supported by Köpke (p. 170).

² Though most reluctant to differ from Zeuss (*Die Deutschen*, &c., p. 439), geographical considerations will hardly allow us to accept his identification of Ulca fluvius with the Aluta, a stream flowing into the Danube only thirty or forty miles west of Novae and on the Dacian side of the river.

³ ii. 18.

only seven years later, was born one of the ablest of his successors, the ferocious but statesmanlike Valentinian ¹.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
488.
321.
Battle of
the Ulca.

The ambassadors who were sent to the Gepid king, Traustila ², returned with an unfavourable reply. No passage through his dominions would be conceded to the Ostrogoths; if they still desired it they must fight for it with the unconquered Gepidae. Then indeed was the distress of the wandering nation at its height. Famine, and the child of famine, pestilence, urged them on: behind them lay the frozen road ³ marked by their blood-stained footprints, before them a yet worse and steeper road, one which even a fugitive would have shunned, leading over a quivering morass and up to the frowning ranks of their enemies. The Gothic vanguard charged across the morass; many were swallowed up in its muddy waters; those who reached the opposite side were falling fast beneath

¹ The identification of the *Ulca fluvius* of Ennodius with the *Hiulca Palus* of Victor (Epitome xli) is greatly strengthened by Ennodius's description of the battle, which recalls the idea of a morass or fen-country rather than a river properly so called. The words of Zosimus (ii. 18) are: Πόλις δὲ αὕτη [Κίβαλις] Παιονίας ἐστίν, ἐπὶ λόφου κειμένη. Στενὴ δὲ ὁδὸς ἥ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγει, σταδίων πέντε τὸ εὖρος ἔχουσα, ἥς τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἐπέχει λίμνη βαθύη, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον ὅρος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ λόφος ἐφ' οὗπερ ἡ πόλις. Ἐντεῦθεν παδίον ἀναπεπταμένον ἐκδέχεται πολὺ τι καὶ εἰς ἀποψιν ἀπειρον. Victor (as above) says, 'Primumque apud Cibalas juxta paludem Hiulcam nomine, Constantino nocte castra Licinii irrumpente, Licinius fugam petiit.' Some MSS. read *Vulcam*.

² Or Trapstila (Miscella Historia).

³ 'Instantibus Gepidis, amne, pestilentia iter quod declinasset fugiens . . . transvolasti.'

BOOK IV. the shower of lances which the mighty arms of
 CH. 6. the Gepidae hurled against their frail wicker-work
 488. breastplates¹. In that apparent shipwreck of the
 fortunes of a noble nation, the calm valour of
 Theodoric saved his people. Like Henry IV at
 Ivri, he shouted, 'Whoso will fight the enemy let
 him follow me. Look not to any other leader, but
 only charge where you see my standard advancing.
 The Gepids shall know that a king attacks them :
 my people shall know that Theodoric saves them.'
 Then he called for a cup, and performed with it
 some old Teutonic rite by way of augury, the
 nature of which is not described to us², and on
 he dashed, urging his horse to a gallop. We may
 conjecture that his keen eye had discerned some
 causeway of solid ground through the morass, along
 which he led his followers. However this may be,
 his charge was completely successful. 'As a swollen
 river through the harvest-field, as a lion through the
 herd,' so did Theodoric career through the Gepid
 ranks, which everywhere melted away before him.
 In a moment the fortune of the day was turned.
 They who a little while ago were vaunting victors
 were now fugitives, wandering without cohesion
 over the plain, while the Amal king moved proudly
 on, no longer now at the head of his troops, but
 encompassed by thousands of stalwart guards.

¹ 'Jejunas pectorum crates acta validioribus lacertis lancea
 transmeabat' (Ennodius, p. 174).

² 'His dictis, poculum causa poposcit auspicii' (p. 174). Do
 the words simply indicate the drinking of a cup of wine to the
 success of the Ostrogoths?

A great multitude of the enemy were slain, and only the approach of night saved the trembling remnant. What was more important, the store-waggons of the Gepidae fell into the hands of the Goths; and so well were they supplied with corn from all the cities of the neighbourhood, that the satisfied wanderers congratulated themselves on the pugnacity of their hosts, which provided them a feast such as they could never have obtained from their hospitality.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.

488.
Results of
the battle.

How long the campaign against the Gepids lasted we know not. We hear vaguely from the panegyrist of 'innumerable' other combats with the Sarmatians and others, the mention of which may or may not be due to some confusion with Theodoric's boyish exploits in the same region. What seems certain is, that either in this guerilla warfare, or in mere foraging expeditions through a country which was of course perfectly familiar to the chief and to all but the mere striplings in his army (since they had migrated thence only sixteen years before), winter, spring, and the greater part of summer wore away. It was not till the month of August that the Ostrogoths, who may perhaps have marched by different routes, some up the valley of the Save, others by that of the Drave, and who may then have concentrated at Aemona (Laybach), finally crossed the Julian Alps, and descended by the road trodden by so many conquerors—Theodosius, Alaric, Attila—past the Pear-tree and the Frigid Stream, into

Other
battles.

Descent
into Italy,
489.

BOOK IV. the plains of that Italy which they were to win by
CH. 6.
 489. bloody battle, to hold for sixty-six years, to love so fondly, and to lose so stubbornly.

We are told that the flocks and herds which accompanied them on their march, soon showed, by their improved condition, the superiority of the tender pastures of Italy over the scanty herbage of the Alpine uplands¹.

Reach the
 Isonzo.

At the eleventh mile-stone from Aquileia (*Ad Undecimum*) the host reached the confluence of the river Frigidus with the Sontius (Isonzo), and here probably it was that Odovacar and his army stood ready to meet them and dispute their passage. South-westwards, in the sea-like plain, rose the ghostly ruins of Aquileia, over which near forty years of desolation had passed. No fleets of merchantmen lined her broken wharves; no workman's hammer resounded in her ruined Mint; the Baths, the Amphitheatre, the Forum, were all silent. Only, perhaps, a few black-robed priests and monks still clustered round the repaired basilica, keeping warm the embers of religious life in the province of Venetia, asserting the continuity, and preparing the way for the revival, of the power of the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

Odovacar
 and his
 subject-
 kings.

Odovacar had taken a strong post on the Isonzo, and had fortified it strongly. In his well-defended camp a large army of various nationalities was mustered under his orders. Ennodius speaks of

¹ Paulus, xv. 15.

‘so many kings’¹ trooping to the war under Odovacar’s banners. Pompous and inflated as his style is, it is difficult to suppose that this detail is absolutely devoid of truth. Perhaps, in the motley host who first acclaimed Odovacar as king, there may have been chiefs and princelings who retained some of their old semi-royal position towards their followers, while towards him they were but generals under a generalissimo. Perhaps also the nations on the Danube, Alamanni, Thuringians, Gepidae, had sent their contingents to defend the menaced throne of the conqueror of the Rugians.

Of the battle of the Isonzo, which was fought on the 28th of August², we have no details. Odovacar had all the advantages of position, of preparation, and of a force which must surely have been more easily handled than the long train, encumbered with women and with waggons, which emerged from under the shadow of the Tarnovaner Wald. But it is probably true, as Ennodius declares, that the vast mass of the defending armament wanted a soul. Its leader, who throughout this war shows not a single instinct of generalship nor trace of that soldierly dash which first made him conspicuous among his fellows, had probably grown torpid during his thirteen years

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
489.

Battle of
the Isonzo,
28 Aug.,
489.

¹ ‘Tibi cum rectore meo, Odovacar, occurro, qui universas contra eum nationes, quasi orbis concussor, exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot sustinere generalitas milites vix valeret.’

² v. Kal. Sept. (Cuspiniani Anon.)

BOOK IV. of royalty, amid such animal delights as Italy could
 CH. 6. offer to a barbarian autocrat. And on the other
 489. side were three powerful champions, Youth in the
 leader, Loyalty in the led, and Despair in both.
 The deep river was crossed, the *vallum* climbed,
 the camp taken: a crowd of fugitives scattered
 over the plain announced to the villages of Venetia
 that the day of Odovacar's supremacy was drawing
 to a close ¹.

Theodoric
 dates his
 reign from
 this vic-
 tory.

Odovacar fled from the Isonzo to the line of the
 Adige, thus abandoning the whole modern province
 of Venetia to the invader ². So large and so fair
 a slice of Northern Italy owning his sway, justified
 that invader in looking on himself as from that
 day forward a ruler in Italy, not the mere leader
 of a wandering host. Near the close of his reign,
 when a question arose how far back the judge
 might go in enquiring into the wrongful ouster
 of a Roman from his farm, Theodoric made his
 'Statute of Limitations' commence with the victory
 of the Isonzo. 'If,' he said, 'the expropriation
 took place after the time when by the favour of
 God we crossed the streams of the Sontius, when
 first the Empire of Italy received us, then let the
 farm be restored to its former owner, and that

¹ 'Non te castra longo munita tempore, non fluminis profunda
 tenuerunt: datum est hostibus tuis vallum construere, non
 tueri. Repente aequora fugacium discursus obnubit, per quae
 superandam domesticam tempestatem abeuntibus indixisti' (?).

² Not quite the whole, according to the Constantinian arrange-
 ment of the Empire. 'Venetia et Histria' reached as far as
 the Adda.

whether thirty years have since elapsed or not.' BOOK IV.
 Further back than that, into the wrongs inflicted CH. 6.
 at the time of the Herulo-Rugian land settlement, 489.
 Theodoric did not consider himself bound to travel
 or to enquire¹.

Odovacar's next stand was to be made at Odovacar's position.
 Verona; and here 'in the Campus Minor,' as
 before at the Isonzo, he entrenched himself in a
fossatum, a large square camp, doubtless sur-
 rounded with those deep fosses of which the
 archæologist who has studied the Roman military
 works in Britain and Germany can form some not
 wholly inadequate conception. On the top of the
 mound, formed of the earth thrown up out of the
 ditch, would probably be planted a line of sharp
 stakes. Here the attacked king stood at bay,
 having the line of the deep and rapid Adige
 behind him, to compel his followers to fight by
 the impossibility of escape². There had been
 some vaunting words uttered by Odovacar in the
 parleys which preceded the combat; and 'if the
 tongue could have achieved victory instead of the
 right arm,' says Ennodius, 'his array of words
 would have been invincible.' But in truth his

¹ 'Si Romanum praedium ex quo, Deo propitio, Sonti fluenta
 transmisimus, ubi primum Italiae nos suscepit imperium, sine
 delegatoris cujusquam pyctacio, praesumptor barbarus occupavit,
 eum priori domino submota dilatione restituat' (Variarum, i. 18).
 The 'pyctacium delegatoris' is practically equivalent to 'con-
 veyance from the previous owner.'

² 'Electus est locorum situs, non tam congressui utilis quam
 pavori.'

BOOK IV. army was a very formidable one in point of
 CH. 6.
 489. numbers: and when Theodoric, on the night before the battle, pacing up and down, saw the wide extent of the camp-fires gleaming like earthly constellations upon the hills between him and Verona, his heart well-nigh died within him. But, as his panegyrist truly says, there was a certain calm and noble stability in the nature of the Ostrogothic king. He was not easily elated by good, nor depressed by adverse fortune, and his serene assurance of victory communicated itself to his countrymen.

Battle of
 Verona,
 30 Sept.,
 489.

At dawn of the 30th of September¹ the trumpets of the two armies sounded for battle. While Theodoric was arming himself with breastplate of steel, was buckling on his greaves, and hanging to his side that sword which his Roman admirer calls 'the champion of freedom²,' his mother Erelieva and his sister Amalfrida came to him, not to depress his courage by womanly lamentations, but, anxious as to the result of the day, to try to read in his beloved face the omens of victory.

¹ 'At vero Odoachar abiit in Veronam, et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronensi v. kalendas Octobris. Ibiq̃ue persecutus est eum Theodericus, et, pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoachar fugit Ravennam pridie kalendas Octobris' (Anon. Valesii, 50). Though this statement is not very clear, it seems to show that Odovacar entrenched himself at Verona on the 27th of September, and that his defeat and flight to Ravenna took place three days after.

² 'Dum munimentis chalybio pectus includeres,*dum ocreis armare, dum lateri tuo *vindex libertatis gladius* aptaretur.'

He reassured their doubting hearts with cheering words: 'Mother, this day it behoves me to show to the world that it was indeed a man-child whom you bore on that great day of the victory over the Huns. I too, in the play of lances, have to show myself worthy of my ancestors' renown by winning new victories of my own. Before my soul's eye stands my father, the mighty Theudemir, he who never doubted of victory, and therefore never failed to achieve it. Bring forth, oh my mother and my sister, my most splendid robes, those on which your fingers have worked the most gorgeous embroidery. I would be more gaily dressed on this day than on any holiday. If the enemy do not recognise me, as I trow they shall, by the violence of my onset, let them recognise me by the brilliancy of my raiment. If Fortune give my throat to the sword of the enemy, let him that slays me have a grand reward for his labour. Let them at least say, "How splendid he looks in death," if they have not the chance to admire me fighting.' With these words of joyous confidence, instinct with the life of the coming age of chivalry, Theodoric leaped on his charger and was soon in the thickest of the fray. It was time for him to make his appearance. Even while he was saying his farewells, the Ostrogoths were slightly wavering under the onset of the enemy. The charge of Theodoric and his chosen troops restored the fortunes of the day. There are indications, however, that the victory, perhaps owing

BOOK IV.

CH. 6.

489.

BOOK IV. to the position of the Rugo-Herulian troops which
 CH. 6. made escape all but impossible, was more stub-
 489. bornly contested than that of the Isonzo, and that
 the Ostrogothic loss was heavy¹. Before the end
 of the day, however, the troops of Odovacar were all
 cut to pieces, or whelmed beneath the swift waves
 of the Adige, save a few bold swimmers who
 may have escaped, Horatius-like, by swimming the
 stream². In these fierce battles of Teuton against
 Teuton, we hear nothing of quarter asked or
 granted. Apparently Odovacar, in order to urge
 his troops to more desperate efforts, must have
 broken down the bridge behind them leading to
 Verona³. He himself escaped, but not westward.
 He sped across the plain, towards the south-east,
 and took refuge in the impregnable Ravenna. One

Flight of
 Odovacar
 to Ra-
 venna.

¹ 'Ceciderunt populi ab *utraque* parte' (Ennodius).

² It seems that Verona was considered the greatest of Theodoric's victories. There is something deserving of consideration in the suggestion of Pallmann (ii. 449-450) that it was from this victory, rather than from his occasional residence at Verona as sovereign, that Theodoric acquired the name by which he is so well known in Saga, 'Dietrich of *Bern*.'

³ Ennodius, in describing the battle of Verona, becomes almost sublime. 'Oh, Adige,' he says, 'all hail! most illustrious of rivers, who hast washed away the stain of Italy, keeping thine own blue waters pure.' But then he goes on to describe the harvest of human bones which whitened all the plain, and, with a ferocity as inconsistent with his sacred character as with good taste, regrets that this memorial of the triumph of Theodoric and of the ended woes of Italy cannot *always* be preserved. He regrets that the grazing cattle are continually destroying these relics of the battlefield: 'O utinam voracibus abripere aliquid bestiis non liceret! Perit desiderabili spectaculo quod acquisiverint furta belluarum.'

authority, of a late date, says that he first fled to Rome, and finding the gates of the city closed against him, wasted the surrounding country with fire and sword¹. In the face, however, of the clear testimony of the contemporary writer, whom scholars call the Chronographer of Ravenna², and who evidently watched the successive acts of the bloody drama with minute and eager interest, it seems safer to affirm that the beaten king fled at once from the battle-field to the secure shelter of Ravenna and her dykes³.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
489.

Theodoric meanwhile repaired to Mediolanum, that great city which had been so often in the third and fourth centuries the residence of emperors, and which was still the most important city of the Province of Liguria, as its successor, Milan, is of the modern Lombardy. Here he received

Theodoric
at Milan.

¹ This is the account of Paulus (end of eighth century) in the *Historia Miscella*: 'Odovacer autem cum his qui evaserant fugiens Romam contendit, sed obseratis continuo portis exclusus est. Qui dum sibi denegari introitum cerneret, omnia quaeque adtingere potuit gladio flammisque consumpsit. Inde quoque egrediens Ravennam ingressus est,' etc. (xv. 15).

² As copied by the *Anonymus Valesii*, § 50, and especially by the Copenhagen MS. of the Continuator of Prosper (sometimes called the Chronicle of 641), *et Ravennam cum exercitu fugiens pervenit*.

³ Immediately after his description of the battle of Verona, Ennodius inserts a spirited appeal to Rome: 'I wish that you, oh venerable city, notwithstanding your age, could come and see this sight. Why do you always remain cooped up in your mouldering temples? Come here and see the clemency of our king,' and so on. It seems to me possible that this apostrophe, misunderstood by some later author, may have originated the story of Odovacar's flight to Rome.

BOOK IV. the submission of a large part of the army of his
 CH. 6. rival. Great as had been the number of the slain,
 489. it was still a goodly host which stood before him, their arms bright and dazzling as a German's arms were bound to be on a day of parade, and which, probably by the clash of spear on shield, acclaimed him as victor and lord¹. The Amal's heart may well have beat high at the sight, and it doubtless seemed to him that the labour of conquest was over and that he was undisputed lord of Italy.

Double
 treachery
 of Tufa.

But this early success was a delusion. Easily as these Teutonic bands turned about from one lord to another, there was still too much vitality in the cause of Odovacar for him to be abandoned so utterly by his followers as seemed to be the case at Milan in October 489. Treason to the new lord was already preparing itself in the hearts of the surrendered army, and the manager, for a time the successful manager, of this treasonable movement, which seemed likely to change the whole course of the war, was *Tufa*. This man, evidently a person of mark in the Rugo-Herulian army, perhaps one of the 'kings' whom Ennodius describes as commanding it, had been solemnly, in an assembly of the chiefs, appointed *Magister Militum* by Odovacar on the 1st of April in this year². The part which he now played, whether

¹ 'Ecce iterum ad deditionem sibi cognitam hostium leto debita pars cucurrit: et cum excessissent occumbentes numerum ad servitium tamen armis instructa radiantibus agmina convenerunt' (Ennodius).

² 'Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et

it were the result of deep and calculated treachery or simply of unreasoning impulse, vibrating backwards and forwards between the old master and the new, reminds a modern reader of the conduct of Marshal Ney in 1815, setting forth from Paris with the assurance to Louis XVIII that he would in a week bring back the Corsican usurper in an iron cage, and, before the week was over, deserting to Napoleon with all his troops. But assuredly, if Tufa may pair off with Ney, we are under no temptation to carry the parallel further. The glorious young Amal king is as much above the gouty Bourbon epicure, as the incapable resourceless Odovacar is below the mighty Napoleon.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
489.

Theodoric, who seems to have been thoroughly blinded by his confidence in Tufa, sent him, probably within a few days after the interview at Milan, to besiege his old master at Ravenna. Tufa advanced along the great Æmilian Way, as far as Faventia¹, about eighteen miles from that city. There he began the blockade of the capital, but when Odovacar came forth, came to Faventia itself,

He betrays
Theodoric's
friends to
Odovacar.

tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, necnon et Tufa magister militum quem ordinaverat Odoachar cum optimatibus suis kal. Aprilis (An. Val. § 51). The combination of the Germanic Folc-mote ('cum optimatibus suis') with the Roman office of Magister Militum is curious. I entirely dissent from Pallmann's view that the date (kal. Apr.) applies to the defection of Tufa rather than to his appointment. This mistake (as I think it) has led him to attribute to 490 some of the events of 489.

¹ The modern Faenza, which has given its name *faïence* to French earthenware.

BOOK IV. and had an interview with his former subordinate,
 CH. 6. Tufa changed again, abandoned the cause of Theodoric, and had the baseness to surrender the
 489. 'Comites Theodorici,' probably some Ostrogothic nobles, members of the *Comitatus* of Theodoric, into the hands of Theodoric's enemy. They were loaded with chains and brought into Ravenna, and there it is but too probable that they were foully murdered by Odovacar, an event which, more than any other, embittered the contest of the two rivals.

Theodoric
 withdraws
 to Ticinum.

This defection of Tufa, accompanied probably by a large part of the troops committed to his charge, caused a violent revulsion in the fortunes of Theodoric. The Ostrogoth, who had been dreaming of dominion, now found himself again called upon to plan for the mere safety and subsistence of himself and his people. Milan seemed to him too exposed, too accessible from Ravenna, to be safely selected as his winter-quarters. He chose instead the city of Ticinum (*Pavia*), which resting on two rivers, the Ticino and the Po, would offer more difficulties to an advancing army. Here too still dwelt the saintly bishop Epiphanius, towards whom, notwithstanding the difference of his creed, the young Ostrogoth seems to have been drawn, as Ricimer and Euric had been drawn¹, by the transparent beauty and holiness of his character. He said at once, 'Here is a bishop who in all the East has not his equal, whom even to have seen is a high

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 478, 503.

privilege.' And, according to the biographer, he added that the city must be safe where such a good man dwelt, that here was a wall which no soldiers could storm, no Balearic slingers could over-shoot. Whether he indulged in quite such soaring flights of rhetoric or not, it is clear that he did select Pavia not only for his own quarters in the winter of 489-490, but also as a place of safe deposit where he might leave his venerable mother, and where all the other non-combatants of the Gothic army might be collected, for what remained to them of the war, a period, as it turned out, of three years¹. During this period, Epiphanius played his difficult part with that success which is sometimes the reward of a perfectly simple and unselfish character, surrounded by unscrupulous and greedy men. Though he evidently inclined to the side of Theodoric, he succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with Odovacar. He obtained from both princes the one boon on which his heart was set, the liberation of 'prisoners and captives,' and this not for his own Roman compatriots only. Often did an Ostrogoth or a Turcilingian, whose wife and children had fallen into the hands of the enemy, obtain, through the prayers of the Bishop, that redemption which gold would have been powerless to procure.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
490.

489-492.
Epiphanius and Theodoric.

¹ Ennodius's Life of St. Epiphanius now again becomes an authority, side by side with his Panegyric on Theodoric. The former mentions the *name* of Tufa ('homo in perfugarum infamio notitia veteri pollutus'), which is absent from the latter.

BOOK IV. To the not over-welcome guests in his own city the
 CH. 6.
 490. generosity of Epiphanius was conspicuous. It was a singular state of affairs, as his biographer truly, if somewhat bombastically, points out. 'Those forces of Theodoric, which the whole East had scarcely been able to support, were now contracted within the limits of a single town. You saw that town swarming with the gatherings of tribesmen, the heads of mighty clans cooped up in narrow hovels. Whole homesteads seemed to have migrated from their foundations, and scarcely was there standing room for the new inhabitants.' In these strangely altered circumstances of his diocese the Bishop applied himself to relieve, to the utmost of his ability, the bodily needs of the new-comers, forgetting, or teaching himself to forget, that it was by them and such as them that the estates of his bishopric had been laid waste, and his own income pitifully diminished. And living, as he had now to live, for three years, constantly under the eyes of 'a most clever people, quickly touched by the lightest breath of suspicion, in troublous times such as make even gentle hearts cruel through fear,' he showed himself so uniformly kind and true that he retained their unwavering esteem and confidence. As has been already said, the princes, who were at deadly war with one another, agreed in venerating Epiphanius¹.

¹ 'Videres urbem familiarium coetibus scatentem: domorum immanium culmina in angustissimis resecata tuguriis: cerneret a fundamentis aedificia immensa migrare (?); nec

The campaign of the year 490 was marked by the formation of great transalpine alliances which, though we hear but vaguely concerning them, must have exercised an important influence on the fortunes of the war. Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, of whom we have heard nothing since, sixteen years before, he left his client Glycerius defenceless against Nepos and stole back to his own kingdom by the Rhone¹, now seeing the tide apparently on the turn against Theodoric, and fearing probably that, if he conquered, the Ostrogoth of Italy and the Visigoth of Gaul would join hands and the Burgundian would have an evil time between them², invaded Liguria with a large army³. Whether he came as an ally of

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
490.
The Burgundians
help Odo-
vacar.

474.

ad recipiendam habitantium densitatem solum ipsum posse sufficere.

‘Cum sagacissima gente habitans, et quam nulla suspicionum aura praetervolat, in rebus dubiis quando metus periculi etiam mitia contra quoslibet corda sollicitat, sic illis fidelissimus existit, ut inimicos eorum toto devinctos teneret affectu, et inter dissidentes principes solus esset qui pace frueretur amborum.’

The remark as to the effect of fear in making men cruel is worthy of a better writer than Ennodius.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 494.

² This is well pointed out by Köpke, p. 173.

³ The words of the *Historia Miscella* are so clear, and so completely harmonise with the allusion in Ennodius (*Panegyric*, p. 177), that, entirely uncontradicted as they are by any of the chroniclers, I do not like to disregard them, though Binding (pp. 103-4) takes a different view of the time and cause of this invasion. The *Historia Miscella* says, ‘*Talium rerum varietates [the treachery of Tufa and Theodoric’s withdrawal to Pavia] Burgundionum rex Gundubatus aspiciens Liguriam cum ingenti exercitu ingressus cuncta quae reperire*

BOOK IV. Odovacar to effect a seasonable diversion in his
 CH. 6.
 490. favour, or simply to rob and ravage on his own account, is not clear from history, very possibly was not altogether clear to the mind of the Burgundian. What is undoubted, is that Theodoric, in some way, either by force or favour, caused him to abandon his opposition, that a treaty was concluded between them which in after years was ripened into a firm and lasting friendship, but that, in the mean time, Gundobad, in returning across the Alps, took with him a long train of captives who were to languish in exile for at least four years, while their native fields in Liguria were well-nigh relapsing into a wilderness for lack of cultivators.

The Visi-
 goths and
 Theodoric.

The natural counterpoise to the Burgundians in the political scale was the power of the Visigoths, and those remote kinsmen of the people of Theodoric interfered on his behalf in this campaign. Odovacar seems to have occupied the months of spring and early summer in winning back the country between Ravenna and Cremona, aided perhaps by the attacks of Gundobad on Liguria which called all Theodoric's energies to the western end of the valley of the Po. Milan was then visited by Odovacar, and roughly handled by him in retribution for the readiness with which its bishop, Laurentius, and its principal citizens had welcomed Theodoric in the preceding year. At length, on

poterat pro voluntate diripiens infinitam secum ad Gallias captivorum multitudinem abduxit.'

the river Addua (*Adda*), ten miles east of Milan, the great battle of the year was fought. We only know that in it Theodoric was helped by his Visigothic kinsmen, and that, after another terrible slaughter on both sides, victory again rested on the standards of Theodoric. In this battle Odovacar lost his Count of the Domestics, the officer who had superintended the emigration of the provincials from Noricum to Campania, and to whom he had given the lands in Melita and Syracuse, his faithful friend and counsellor Pierius. Odovacar himself fled, and again shut himself up by the lagoons of Ravenna, never more to emerge from their shelter.

It is apparently to the same year, 490, that we must refer a mysterious movement against the followers of Odovacar all over Italy, of which we have some dark intimations in the Panegyric of Ennodius. He speaks of it as in some sort a counter-blow to the treachery of Tufa.

‘It pleased them [Tufa and his confederates] to promise a kingdom to Odovacar when he again stretched out a peaceful hand towards them. But, as soon as their deed was brought to light, the miscalculation which their hostile minds had made became apparent. You [Theodoric] appealed to that Providence which watched over all your steps, and, that the greed of those deserters might not go unpunished, you unfurled the banners of revenge and made the *people*, whose friendship to you was now thoroughly proved, the confidant of

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
Battle of
the Adda,
11 August,
490.

General
assassina-
tion of the
followers
of Odo-
vacar.

BOOK IV. your secret designs. Not one of your adversaries
 CH. 6. got scent of the scheme, though more than half
 490. the world had to share it with you. Over the
 most widely severed districts [of Italy] was arranged
 a sacrificial slaughter¹. What but the will of the
 Most High can have brought this to pass, that
 in one instant of time the score which had been
 so long accumulating against the slaughterers of
 the Roman name should be wiped away?' It has
 been truly pointed out by the best of our German
 guides², that these words point to a kind of
 'Sicilian Vespers' of the followers of Odovacar all
 over Italy: and, from the sanctimonious manner
 in which the Bishop claims Heaven as an accom-
 plice in the bloody deed, we may perhaps infer
 that the Roman clergy generally were privy to
 the plot.

Blockade of
 Ravenna.

The action of the drama for the next three
 years is almost entirely confined to Ravenna, which
 city, Caesena and Rimini, were the only places in
 Italy that still held out for Odovacar. Theodoric
 seems to have recognised the impossibility of taking
 Ravenna by assault. His only hope was to reduce
 it by blockade, and that was a slender hope, so
 long as he was not master of the Hadriatic and
 vessels could enter the harbour of Clapis, bringing
 provisions to the besieged king. However, he
 occupied a position 'in the Pineta,' in that mag-
 nificent pine-wood which every traveller to Ra-

¹ 'Mandata est per regiones disjunctissimas nex votiva.'

² Dahn, ii. 80.

venna knows so well, skirting its eastern horizon and shutting out the sight of the sea. Here, at three miles distance from the city¹, he entrenched himself with a deep and widely extended *fossatum*, and waited for events. His taking up this position, eastward, that is sea-ward of the city, probably implied a determination to cut off, as much as possible, all succours from the sea, while his flying squadrons no doubt blocked the communications with the Æmilian Way and effectually prevented assistance by land. The blockade, by one means or other, must have been a tolerably effective one, since corn, in the markets of Ravenna, rose to the famine price of six solidi per modius, equivalent to seventy-two shillings a peck, or £115 4s. a quarter. This was, it is true, not quite equal to the price (£192 a quarter) paid in the camp of Jovian during the disastrous retreat of the Roman army from Persia². But, on the other hand, in the good days that were coming for Italy under the peaceful reign of that very Theodoric whose *fossatum* now caused such terrible distress to the Queen of the Hadriatic, the ordinary price of one modius of wheat was to be not six solidi but one-sixtieth of a solidus, equivalent to 6s. 4d. a quarter³.

Before the year 490 ended, Theodoric, considering himself now *de facto* lord of Italy, sent Faustus,

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
490.

Famine
price of
corn in
Ravenna.

Theodoric
sends
Faustus on

¹ Jordanes, De Reb. Geticis, lvii ('Tertio fere miliario ab urbe locus').

² Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv. 8.

³ Anon. Valesii, 53.

BOOK IV. a Roman noble, chief of the Senate and Consul
 CH. 6. for the year, to claim from Zeno the imperial

490.
 an embassy
 to Constantinople.

robes, perhaps also the imperial diadem, which Odovacar, in his politic modesty, had sent to Constantinople after the downfall of Augustulus. Faustus, however, probably arrived only in time to stand by the wretched and crime-polluted death-bed of the Emperor, to hear his ravings about the guardsman who was to be his successor, and to behold his remorse for the murder of Pelagius. In April of the next year Zeno was a corpse, and Anastasius the Silentary reigned in his stead. From him Theodoric was one day to receive the recognition which he desired, but he was not to receive it yet.

Odovacar's
 sortie from
 Ravenna,
 July, 491.

The chief event of the year 491 was a desperate sally made from Ravenna by the besieged king. Odovacar had by some means or other procured a reinforcement of Heruli fresh from their Carpathian homes. With these recruits, seeing that Theodoric was dwelling securely behind his *fossatum*, and believing him to have relaxed his guard, he one night issued forth from Ravenna and attacked the entrenchment of the Goths. The battle was long, and great was the number of the slain on both sides. But, at length, Odovacar had again to acknowledge himself defeated. His *Magister Militum*, a certain Libila (or Levila), was slain, perhaps drowned in attempting to cross the sluggish and slimy Ronco¹. The Heruli, as Ennodius exult-

¹ Called Bedens (? for Bedesis) by the chronicler.

ingly remarks¹, after making proof of Theodoric's prowess in their own home, had now an opportunity of repeating the experience on Italian soil. This engagement occurred about the 10th (or 15th) of July. Odovacar again retired into his lair; and Theodoric, a month later, returned to his temporary capital at Pavia. It is possible that the Burgundian invader was not yet finally disposed of: and no doubt the home-loving Ostrogoth longed again to behold the faces of his mother and his children. Of course, the blockade was continued with unabated vigour.

In the year 492 we have again a strange dearth of events in the early part of the year; the only incident which our careful diarists at Ravenna have to record being that, on the 26th of May, 'an earthquake took place at night before the crowing of the cocks.' Possibly both parties sought to strengthen themselves for each campaign by drawing fresh recruits from beyond the Alps, in which case the difficulty of crossing the snow-covered passes might well postpone the conflict of the year till June or July. Theodoric, however, now took a step, which probably should have been taken before, in order to make his blockade perfect. He went southward to Ariminum, about thirty miles

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.

491.

18 or 22
Aug., 491.Lull in
the war,
492.Theodoric
at Rimini.

¹ 'Consumpta res est prospero fatalique bello; succisa est Odovacris praesumptio [alluding to the sortie], postquam eum contigit de fallacia non juvari. Quid Herulorum agmina fusa commemorem? qui ideo adversus te deducti sunt ut hic agnoscerent, etiam in propriis sedibus quem timerent' (Enn. Paneg. p. 176, ed. Migne).

BOOK IV. distant (one sees the Rock of S. Marino which
CH. 6. overhangs Rimini, cutting the horizon as one looks
 492. southward from the church towers of Ravenna), and
 he appears to have reduced that town to his obe-
 dience. What was more important, he made him-
 self master of a fleet of cutters (called *dromones*,
 ‘runners,’ in the Latin of that age). With these he
 arrived at the Lion’s Harbour, a port about ~~six~~
 miles from Ravenna, where in later days he built
 a small palace—perhaps a country retreat—in a
 camp which, probably from this circumstance, was
 called *Fossatum Palatioli*. Here we must leave
 him, watching with ships and soldiers against the
 entrance of any provisions into Ravenna, while the
 scene shifts for a moment to the banks of the
 Ticino and the Adige.

Treachery
 of Frederic
 the Ru-
 gian.

Few men, one would think, in the Ostrogothic
 army had more powerful motives for loyalty than
 Frederic prince of the Rugians. His father and
 mother had been led into captivity by the armies
 of Odovacar, he himself, twice defeated and expelled
 by the same armies, had sought the palace of
 Theodoric a helpless fugitive. As a member of
 Theodoric’s *Comitatus*, he had now entered Italy,
 and had fought by his side in three, perhaps in four,
 bloody battles. He was, if he could exercise patience
 and fidelity for a few months longer, about to taste
 delicious and long-delayed vengeance on the enemy
 of his race. Yet, with characteristic fickleness, at
 this crisis, or perhaps some months earlier, Frederic
 deserted the standards of Theodoric and entered

His junc-
 tion with
 Tufa.

into a treasonable correspondence with the double traitor Tufa, who, with some sort of army under his orders, was still roving about the plains of Lombardy. Perhaps some remembrance of their common Rugian nationality working in the mind of Frederic drew him away from the Ostrogothic chief, and towards the followers of Odovacar. Perhaps Theodoric had not assigned a sufficiently high place in his counsels to the son of a king whose word had once been the mightiest in all the regions of the Middle Danube. More probably, Frederic saw simply a better chance of plunder and of eventual kingship, by fighting for his own hand, and with barbarian naturalness went straight towards what seemed to be his own interests, without troubling himself for fine words to justify his treason.

The Rugians occupied Pavia; this we know from the distress which they caused to the soul of the saintly Epiphanius. Possibly enough, they may have laid their hands on some of the moveable property of the Ostrogoths in that City of Refuge: but the women and children and the rest of the non-combatants must have escaped unharmed, for we should certainly have heard of it had there been any general massacre. For nearly two years the Rugians made Pavia their head-quarters. 'A race,' says Ennodius, 'hideous by every kind of savagery, whose minds, full of cruel energy, prompted them to daily crimes. In fact, they thought that a day was wasted which had passed

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
492.

The Rugians at Ticinum.

BOOK IV. unsignalised by any kind of outrage¹. The
 CH. 6.
 492. sweet discourses of the prelate, however, softened even these wild men's hearts. 'Who could bear without astonishment that the Rugians, who will scarcely condescend to obey even kings, both feared and loved a bishop, a Catholic and a Roman? Yet so it was; and when the time for their departure came, they left him even with tears, although they were returning to their parents and families².'

End of the
 Rugian
 under-war.

The mention of a period of 'nearly two years' for the stay of the Rugians at Pavia, coming as it does after the description of three years of Gothic tarriance in that city, brings us down nearly to the end of 494 for the date of their final expulsion. As we shall see, Odovacar had disappeared from the scene before that date. The Rugians therefore probably continued fighting on their own account, and required a separate castigation from Theodoric. But of all this we have no record.

Quarrel
 between
 Tufa and
 Frederic.

We do know however that, in the year with which we are now dealing (492), the two traitors Tufa and Frederic quarrelled about the division of

¹ The reflection shows that Ennodius, at any rate, had heard of the celebrated saying of the Emperor Titus, who was not honoured by the use made by the Rugians of his '*Hodie diem peridi*.'

² '*Quis sine grandi stupore credat dilexisse et timuisse Rugos episcopum et catholicum et Romanum, qui parere [al. parcere] regibus vix dignantur? cum quibus tamen integrum pene biennium exegit taliter, ut ab eo flentes discederent, etiam ad parentes et familias regressuri*' (Ennodius, *Vita Epiphani*, p. 226, ed. Migne).

the spoil¹. A battle ensued between them in the valley of the Adige, betwixt Trient and Verona. After many thousands of men had been killed on both sides, the death of Tufa put an end to the battle. Frederic, as has been said above, probably remained to trouble his benefactor some little time longer, but henceforth he disappears from history. Ennodius is jubilant, and not without cause, over this merciful arrangement of Providence, by which the two traitorous enemies of the King were made to counter-work one another's evil designs, and Frederic first earned, at the expense of Tufa, the triumph which his own defeat was afterwards to yield to Theodoric.

BOOK IV.

CH. 6.

49².

Death of
Tufa.

The year 493, the fifth year of the war, the fourth of the siege, the second of the complete blockade, of Ravenna, opened upon a terrible state of things in the hunger-stricken capital. Men were staying the gnawing of their stomachs by eating hides and all kinds of unclean and horrible victuals, and still they were dying fast of famine².

Famine in
Ravenna,
493.

At length the stubborn heart of Odovacar was quelled. He commenced negotiations for a surrender, and on the 25th of February he handed over his son Thelane as a hostage for his fidelity.

Surrender
of Ra-
venna.

¹ The chronicler calls them both 'Magistri Militum.' Tufa therefore still held this rank in Odovacar's army, and Frederic, notwithstanding his defection, perhaps still called himself Magister Militum of Theodoric.

² 'Coria vel alia immunda et horrida urgebantur comedere, et multa corpora quae servata sunt a gladio, fames peremit' (Agnellus, p. 67, apud Muratori).

BOOK IV. On the following day Theodoric entered Clapis in
 CH. 6.
 493. state, that seaport being probably assigned to the
 Ostrogothic army for their head-quarters. On the
 next day, 27th of February, peace was formally
 made between Theodoric and Odovacar, John the
 Archbishop of Ravenna acting as mediator.

Terms of
 the capitulation.

The life of the defeated king was to be safe¹. Nay more, he and his conqueror were, at any rate in appearance, to be joint rulers of the Western Empire. The arrangement was so obviously destitute of any of the elements of stability, so sure to breed plots and counter-plots, so impotent a conclusion to the long blockade of Ravenna, that we might hesitate² to accept its accuracy, but that a recently-discovered fragment of the well-informed John of Antioch confirms the statement of Procopius too emphatically to allow us to reject it³.

5 March,
 493,
 Theodoric
 enters
 Ravenna.

It was not till the 5th of March that the victorious Ostrogoth rode through the gates of Ravenna, and took possession of the city which for the remaining thirty-three years of his life was to be his home. Before he entered the Archbishop went forth to meet him, 'with crosses and thuribules and the Holy Gospels,' and with a long train of priests and monks. Falling prostrate on the

¹ 'Accepta fide securum se esse de sanguine' (Anon. Vale-
 sii, 54).

² With Dahn, *Könige der Germ.* ii. 81.

³ John of Antioch says: Θ. καὶ Ὁ. συνθήκας καὶ συμβάσεις ἐποι-
 ῆσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄμφω ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς (Fr. 214 a).
 Procopius: Ὑπὸ διαλλακῇ τῷ Ῥαβέννης ἱερεὶ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις
 ξυνίασιν ἐφ' ᾧ Θ. τε καὶ Ὁ. ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ διαίτῃ
 ἔξουσι (De Bell. Goth. i. 1).

ground, while his followers sang a penitential psalm, he prayed that 'the new King from the East' would receive him into his peace. The request was granted, not only for himself and the citizens of Ravenna, but for all the Roman inhabitants of Italy. The terms of the real peace had no doubt been strenuously debated with the Teutonic comrades of Odovacar; but a ceremony like this, pre-arranged in all probability between the King and the Archbishop, was judged proper, in order to impress vividly on the minds both of Italians and Ostrogoths that Theodoric came as the friend of the Catholic Church and of the vast population which, even in accepting a new master, still clung to the great name of Roman.

For ten days there were frequent interviews between the two chieftains; then, on the 15th of March, the Ostrogoth invited his rival to a banquet in the Palace of the Laurel-Grove, at the south-east corner of the city. Odovacar came attended by his faithful *comitatus*, but was probably led to a seat of honour and thus separated from his friends. Two men knelt before him to prefer some pretended request, and clasped his hands in the earnestness of their entreaty. Then rushed forth some soldiers who had been placed in ambush in two alcoves on either side of the banquet-hall. But when they came in sight of the victim something in his aspect, either his kingly majesty or possibly his white hairs¹, or simply the fact that he was

BOOK IV.
Ch. 6.
493.

Assassination of
Odovacar.

¹ He was now in the 60th year of his age (Jo. Ant. fr. 214).

BOOK IV. defenceless, struck such a chill into their hearts
 CH. 6. that they could not attack him. Then strode
 493. forth Theodoric and raised his sword to strike him. 'Where is God?' cried Odovacar in a vain appeal to Divine justice. 'This is what thou didst to my friends,' shouted Theodoric, kindling his rage by the remembrance of his comrades, slain by his rival after their base betrayal by Tufa. The blow descended on Odovacar's collar-bone, and stayed not till the sword had reached his loin. Theodoric himself was surprised at the trenchancy of his stroke, and said with a brutal laugh, 'I think the wretch had never a bone in his body.'

Death of
 his rela-
 tives.

The assassinated king was at once buried in a stone coffin close by the Hebrew synagogue. His *comitatus*, powerless to save him, fell in the same fatal banquet-hall¹. His brother (possibly Onöulf) was shot down with arrows while attempting to escape through the palace garden. Sunigilda, the wife of Odovacar, was closely imprisoned, and died of hunger. Their son Thelane², whom his father in prosperous days had designated as Cæsar, and who had more recently been given over as a hostage for his fidelity, was sent off to Gaul, doubtless to Theodoric's Visigothic ally King Alaric, and, having subsequently escaped thence to Italy, was put to death by order of the conqueror. So did the whole brood perish, and Italy had but one undoubted master, the son of Theudemir.

No! It was not well done by thee, descendant

¹ Cuspiniani Anon.

² Or Oclan.

of so many Amal kings ! Whatever a mere Roman emperor, a crowned upstart of yesterday, might do in breaking faith with his rivals, a Basiliscus or an Armatius, thou shouldest have kept thy Teutonic truth inviolate. And so, when we enter that wonderful cenotaph of the Middle Ages, the church of the Franciscans at Innsbruck, and see thee standing there, in size more than human, beside the bearers of the greatest names of chivalry, Frankish Charles and British Arthur, and Godfrey with the Crown of Thorns ; one memory, and hardly more than one, prevents our classing thee with the purest and the noblest of them,—the memory of thy assassinated rival Odovacar.

BOOK IV.
CH. 6.
493.

**NOTE D. THE 'ANNALS OF RAVENNA' ON THE WAR
BETWEEN ODOVACAR AND THEODORIC.**

NOTE D. IN order to bring the nature of our materials for the history of this struggle before the mind of the reader, and especially to show the curious dependence of four of our authorities on the common source now perished, which is called the 'Annals of Ravenna,' the extracts from the

488.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A. D. 641.	CHRONCON CUS- PINIANI.
Dynamius and Sifidius Consuls. Theodoric starts for Italy late in the autumn.	'Ergo superveniente Theoderico patricio de civitate Nova cum gente Gothica, missus ab imperatore Zenone de partibus orientis ad defendendam sibi Italiam cui	Dinamio et Sifidio.	Dinamio et Sifidio. His Cons. arsit pontus Apollinaris [in Ravenna] noctu in pascha xv. Kal. majas.
489. Anicius Probinus and Eusebius Consuls. 1 April. Tufa appointed Magister Militum by Odo- vacar. 28 Aug. Battle of the Isonzo. 27 Sep. Odo- vacar entrenches himself at Verona. 30 Sep. Battle of Verona. Flight of Odo- vacar to Ravenna.	occurrit venienti Odo- achar ad fluvium Son- tium, et ibi pugnans cum eodem, victus fugit. At vero Odoachar abiit in Veronam et fixit fos- satum in campo minore Veronense v. Kalendas Octobris, ibique persecutus est eum Theodericus, et pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odo- achar fugit Ravennam pridie Kalendas Octobris.	Probino et Eusebio Fausto Jun. V. C. [490] Hoc consule Theudoricus rex Gotho- rum ingressus est fos- satum ponte Sontis adver- sum Odoachar regem. Quem cum ingenti copia hostium munitum et in- solentis animi cerneret non posse eum vi superare, timore perculsus aufugit ac se Veronensi oppido cum exercitu recedit. Quem cum rex Theodori- cus fugisse se coram com- perit, expers bellicis rebus	Probino et Eusebio Fausto V. C. [490] His cons. ingressus est rex Theudoricus in fossato pontis Son- tio v. Kl. Sept. et fugit Odoacar rex de fossato et abiit Beronam.

chroniclers relating to this period are here arranged side by side. It will be seen that their chronological data differ exceedingly, but, to facilitate comparison, the extracts are all reduced to that which is now ascertained to be the true chronology. The date and an abstract of the information gathered from them all, are placed in the first column. A few references to Ennodius, Jordanes, and Procopius are also appended. The reader must not expect grammatical accuracy either in the chroniclers or in Agnellus.

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	ENNODII PANEGYRICUS THEODERICI.
Cum istius temporibus pons Apollenaris Ravennae concrematus est nocte in Pascha quarto Nonas Aprilis.	Dinamius et Sifidius.	Dinamio et Sifidio Coss. Eodem anno Theodoricus rex omnium suorum multitudine assumpta Gothorum in Italiam tendit.	Igitur egressus urbe regia Theodoricus et ad suos revertens omnem gentem Gothorum, qui tamen ei praebuerunt consensum, Hesperiam tendit, rectoque itinere per Sirmis ascendit vicina Pannoniae,	Tunc a te commonitis longelateque viribus innumeros diffusa per populos gens una contrahitur migrante te cum ad Ausoniam mundo etc. (p. 173, ed. Migne). Ulca fluvius est tutela Gepidarum etc. (p. 173). Transeo Sarmatas cum statione migrantes etc. (p. 174).
	Probinus et Eusebius. [489] His Coss. felicissimus atque fortissimus D. N. Rex Theodericus intravit Italiam, cui Odoacer ad Isonitium pugnam parans victus cum tota gente fugatus est. Eodem anno repetito conflictu Veronae vincitur Odoacer.	Eusebio et Probino Coss. Idem Theodoricus rex Gothorum optatam occupavit Italiam. Odoacer itidem rex Gothorum metu Theodorigi perterritus Ravennam ingressus est.	indeque Venetiarum fines ingressus ad Pontem Sontii nuncupatum castra metatus est. Cumque ibi ad reficienda corpora hominum jumentorumque aliquanto tempore resedisset, Odoacer armatum contra eum direxit exercitum. Quem ille ad campos Veronenses occurrens magna strage	Tibi cum rectore meo, Odovacar, occurro, qui universas contra eum nationes quasi orbis concussor exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot sustinere generalitas milites vix valeret etc. Non te castra longomunita tempore, non fluminis profunda tenuerunt etc. (p. 174).

489.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A. D. 641.	CHRONICON CUS PINIANI.
<p>Theodoric goes to Milan.</p> <p>Double treachery of Tufa.</p>	<p>Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, nec non et Tufa magister militum, quem ordinaverat Odoachar cum optimatibus suis Kal. Aprilis.</p> <p>Eo anno missus est Tufa magister militum a Theoderico contra Odoacrem Ravennam. Veniens Faventiam Tufa, obsedit Odoacrem cum exercitu cum quo directus fuerat; et exiit Odoachar de Ravenna et venit Faventiam, et Tufa tradidit Odoacri comites patricii Theoderici, et missi sunt in ferro, et adducti Ravennam.</p>	<p>atque triumphalis gloriæ capax animus, non metuendum fore hostes persequi, si semel devicti cesserint, et victoriam in propatulo habere acris ingenii animus intueretur, si eum ibi usque persequeretur, quod praesidium non virorum robore sed murorum munitione sese habere putaret, ad Veronam usque persecutus est. Quem cum Odoacher adventasse ad sui obsidionem cerneret, tedio victus collectis bellicorum copiis sese in campo Veronensi minore obvium objecit. Ubi cum magnæ strages ab utroque exercitu fierent, dum unum desperatae rei necessitas cogeret, alterum ne ceptae victoriae gloriam fuga macularet, diu utrisque pugnantibus tandem victus Odoachar fugit et Ravennam cum exercitu fugiens pervenit.</p>	
<p>490.</p> <p>Longinus (II) and Faustus.</p> <p>Burgundian invasion (!).</p> <p>Visigothic alliance.</p> <p>March of Odoacar to Cremona and Milan.</p> <p>Battle of the Addua (11 August).</p> <p>Death of Pierius.</p> <p>Odovacar again shut up in Ravenna.</p> <p>Massacre of his adherents throughout Italy (!).</p> <p>Embassy of Faustus to Constantinople.</p>	<p>Fausto et Longino [490].</p> <p>His consulibus Odoachar rex exiit de Cremona et ambulavit Mediolanum. Tunc venerunt Wisigothae in adjutorium Theoderici, et facta est pugna super fluvium Adduam, et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte: et occisus est Pierius comes domesticorum iii. idus Augustas, et fugit Odoachar Ravennam, et mox subsecutus est eum patricius Theodericus veniens in Pineta, et fixit fossatum, obsidens Odoacrem clausum per triennium in Ravenna, et</p>	<p>Olibrio juniore V. C. Cons. [491].</p> <p>Odoachar rex ab Ravenna Mediolanum rediit, atque contractis copiis cum Theudorico bellum init super fluvio Adda: sed ut rei desperatae magis adimi quam augeri vires solent, Odoachar terga vertens interfecto Pierio comite, qui bellicis rebus praeerat, Ravennam iterum aufugit. Post quem Theudoricus intra parvi temporis spacium Ravennam cum totius robore exercitus pervenit. Fossato et munitione late patente in Pineta exercitum vallavit.</p>	<p>Fausto V. C. Cons. [490].</p>

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	ENNODIUS.
			delevit castraque soluta finibus Ita- liae cum potiore audacia intrat,	
<p>[Cum] juxta Strovia Peuco- dis¹ non longe ab Urbe Ravenna applicitus Theodo- ricus fuisset cum hostibus suis in Campo qui vocatur Candiani, post- quam duabus vici- bus Odovacrem su- peravit, qui illo tempore Regnum Ravennae obtine- bat.</p> <p>¹ ['Graecum no- men pro Pineta.' Holder-Egger in Annotatione.]</p>	<p>Faustus Jun. Cos.</p> <p>[490] Hoc cos. ad Ducam flu- vium Odoacrem D. N. Theoderi- cus rex tertio certamine super- avit, qui Raven- nam fugiens ob- sidetur inclusus.</p>	<p>Longino II et Fausto Coss.</p>	<p>transactoque Pado amne ad Raven- nam regiam ur- bem castra com- ponit tertio fere miliario ab urbe locus qui appella- tur Pineta: quod</p>	<p>Sed instruxit rur- sus in deceptione sui mens vaga con- flictum, dum apud Veronam tuam ap- parat locum belli etc. (174-5).</p> <p>Quid dissimulo gesta persequi? Libuit eos rursus tendenti inermem dextram Odovacri regna polliceri (176).</p> <p>Taceo ubi tibi injuncta est pax diuturna, Burgun- dio; quando sic foederibus obsecu- tus es ut depute- tur quod visis fe-</p>

490.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A. D. 641.	CHRONICON CUS- PINIANI.
	factum est usque ad sex solidos modius tritici. Et mittens legationem Theodericus Faustum, caput senati, ad Zenonem imperatorem, et ab eodem sperans vestem se induere regiam.		
491. Olybrius. Death of Zeno, 9 April. Accession of Ana- stasius, 11 April. Battle of the Pineta (near Ra- venna), 10 (or 15) July. Return of Theo- doric to Ticinum, 18 (or 22) Au- gust.	Olybrius V. C. Cons. [491]. Hoc consule exiit Odo- achar rex de Ravenna nocte, cum Herulis in- gressus in Pineta, in fossatum patrici Theo- derici, et ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus, et fugiens Levila magister militum Odoacris, occisus est in fluvio Bedente, et victus Odoachar fugit Ra- vennam idibus Juliis. Et moritur Constanti- nopolim Zeno imperator et factus est imperator Anastasius.	Quem cum securum intra fossatum sedere Odoachar conspiceret, clam noctu cum Erulis intra fossatum in Pineta erupit, ubi, cum diu pug- natum est et utriusque exercitus magnae copiae cecidissent, interfecto Li- bilane magistro militiae intra Ravennam sese rex Odoachar reclusit. Theo- doricus collectis exerci- tibus nolens eum obpug- nare, donec sese belli tempus aperiret Ticinum rediit xv. K. Septemb. Romanorum xlviii [im- perator] regnavit Ana- stasius ann. xxvii.	[490, but a line is probably mis- sing, as the name of the Consul for 491 is not given.] 'Eo anno ingres- sus est Odoacar Rex in fossatum Erulis in Pineta et occisus est Li- bila Mag. mil. et cecidere populi ab utraque parte. Et clausit se Ra- venna. Odoacar rex vi. id. Jul. Et regressus est Rex Theodericus in Ticino xi. Kal. Sept.
492. Anastasius and Rufus. Earthquake, 26 May. Theodoric at Ari- minum. He returns with swift ships (dromones) to Ravenna, 29 Au- gust. Ravenna more strictly block- aded. Defection of Fred- eric the Rugian. Quarrel between him and Tufa. Tufa slain in battle against Frederic.	[The Consuls and the events of this year are missing in the Anon. Valesii.]	Anastasio pp. Cons. et Rufo. [492] Ecclesiastical af- fairs, Vandal persecu- tions, blasphemy of Olim- pius, etc.] Albino V. C. Consulo. [493] Rex Theodori- cus Ariminum est regres- sus, inusque profectus cum dromonis navigio venit ad fossatum Palatioli iiiii. K. Sept. Eo anno pugna facta est inter Fridigerium et Tufanem magistros mili-	Dn. Anastasio pp. Aug. et Rufo. [492] His Cons. Terre motus factus est noctu ante pul- lorum cantus vii. Kal. Jun. Albino V. C. Cons. [493] His Cons. regressus est rex Theodericus Ari- mini et venit cum dromonis ad fos- satum Palatioli iiii. Kal. Sept. Eo anno pugna facta est inter Fri- dericum et Eufa-

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	ENNODIUS.
				riatus, constantiae non pavori (177). Ultionis vexilla concutiens fecisti consiliorum parti- cipem in secretis populum jam pro- batum (176).
Tunc exit Odo- vacer ad praedic- tum campum cum exercitu suo, et superatus est ter- tio, et ante faciem Theodorici terga dedit, et infra civi- tatem se clausit,	Olybrius Jun. Cos. [491] Hoc Cos. Odoacer cum Erulis egressus Ravenna noc- turnis horis ad pontem Candid- ium a D. N. rege Theodorico memorabili cer- tamine supera- tur * * * * * Eodem anno Zeno occubuit cui Anastasius in orientali suc- cessit imperio.	Olybrio solo Cos. Zeno Aug. vita decessit * * * Anastasius ex silentiario Im- perator creatus est.	cernens Odoacer intus se in urbe communit; inde- que subreptive noctu frequenter cum suis egredi- ens Gothorum ex- ercitum inquietat	Quid Herulorum agmina fusa com- memorem? Qui ideo adversus te deducti sunt, ut hic agnoscerent etiam in propriis sedibus quem ti- merent (176).
et abiit ad Ari- minum et venit exinde cum dro- monibus in Portu Lione, ubi postea palatium modi- cum aedificare jus- sit in Insula non longe a litore ma- ris, ubi nunc Mon- asterium sanctae Mariae esse vide- tur infra balneum non longe ab Ra- vennae milliario vi. Et nunc in nostris temporibus praedictum palatium servos meos demolire jussi, et Raven-	Anastasius Aug. et Bufus.	Anastasio Aug. et Bufo Coss.		Dicat Fridericus, qui postquam fi- dem laesit, hostes tuos interitu comi- tatus est, etc. (276).

492.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A.D. 641.	CHRONICON CUS- PINIANI.
		tum inter Tredenum et Veronam, sed cum utriusque partis multa milia hominum caderent Tufa interfectus proelio finem dedit.	nem mag. mil. inter Tridentum et Beronam.
<p>493</p> <p>Eusebius (II) and Albinus.</p> <p>Treaty of peace between Theodoric and Odoacar, 26-27 Feb.</p> <p>Theodoric's entry into Ravenna, 5 Mar.</p> <p>Assassination of Odovacar 'a few days after.'</p>	<p>igitur coactus Odoachar dedit filium suum Thelane obsidem Theoderico, accepta fide, securum se esse de sanguine. Sic ingressus est Theodericus: et post aliquot dies, dum ei Odoachar insidiaretur, detectus ante ab eo praeventus, in palatio manu sua Theodericus eum in Lauretum praeveniente gladio interemit. Cujus exercitus in eadem die jussu Theoderici omnes interfecti sunt quivis ubi potuit reperiri, cum omni stirpe sua.</p>	<p>Odoachar pacem ab Theudorico postulans accepit, qua non diu potitus est, deditque obsidem filium suum. Theudoricus cum pacem cum Odoachar fecisset, ingressus est Classem iiii. K. Mart., ac deinde ingressus est Ravennam. Pacis specie Odoachrem interfecit cum collegas omnes, qui regni praesidio amministrabant.</p>	<p>Hoc Cons. facta est pax inter dn. Theodericum regem et Odoacrem iii. Kl. Martias et ingressus est dn̄s Theodericus in Classem Mart. Hoc cons. ingressus est Ravennam Rex Theodericus III Non. Mart. et occisus est Odoacar Rex a Rege Theoderico in palatio cum commilitibus suis.</p>

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	PROCOPIUS.
<p>nam perduxi in aedificia domus meae, quam a fundamentis aedificavi jure materno, etc.</p> <p>Tandiu exercitus Theodorici fame perdomuit, quamdiu coria, vel alia immunda et horrida urgebantur comedere, et multa corpora, quae servata sunt a gladio, fames peremit. Et factus est terrae motus magnus valde gallo- rum cantu septimo Kal. Januarii.</p>			<p>et hoc non semel nec iterum, sed frequenter et pene molitur toto triennio. Sed frustra laborat, quia cuncta Italia dominum jam dicebat Theodoricum et illius ad nutum</p>	
<p>Et dedit Odovacer Theodorico filium obidem quinto Kal. et post quatuor [Kal.] Martii est civitate Classe ingressus. Post haec autem Vir Beatis- simus Johannes Archiepiscopus aperuit Portas civitatis quas Odo- vacer clauserat, et exiit foras cum crucibus et thurri- bulis et Sanctis Evangeliiis pacem petens cum Sacer- dotibus et Clericis psallendo, in ter- ram prostratus, obtinuit quae petebat. Invitat novum Regem de Oriente venientem, et pax illi ab eo concessa est, non solum Ravennenses Cives, sed etiam omnibus Romanis, pro quibus Beatus postulavit Johannes.</p> <p>Et subiit Ravennam tertio Nonas Martias. Post pau- cos dies occidit Odovacrem Rex in palatio in Lauro cum comitibus suis. Postquam jubente Theodorico interfectus est Odovacer, solus et securus regnavit Romanorum more.</p>	<p>Albinus V. C. Cos.</p> <p>[493] Hoc Cos. D. N. rex Theo- dericus Raven- nam ingressus, Odoacrem moli- entem sibi insi- dias interemit.</p>	<p>[Continuation of entry for 489.]</p> <p>Porro ab eo- dem Theodorico perjuris illectus, interfectusque est [Odoacer].</p>	<p>res illa publica ob- secundabat. Tan- tum ille solus cum paucis satellitibus et Romanos, qui aderant, et fame et bello cotidie intra Ravennam laborabat. Quod dum nihil profi- ceret, missa lega- tione veniam sup- plicat. Cui et pri- mum concedens Theodericus post- modum ab hac luce privavit.</p>	<p>Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον ἔτος Γότθοις τε καὶ Θεωδερίχῳ Ῥαβέν- ναν πολιορκοῦσιν ἐτέτριπτο ἤδη, οἱ τε Γότθοι ἀχθύ- μενοι τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀδο- ακρον πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὑπὸ δια- λακτῇ τῷ Ῥαβέν- νῃς ἱερεὶ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θεωδερίχus τε καὶ Ὀδοάκρος ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσῇ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ διαίτῃ ἔξουσι. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διεσώσαντο τὰ ἐν γυγκίμενα, μετὰ δὲ Θεωδερίχος Ὀδοάκρον λαβὼν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενον τρώπῳ τε δολερῷ ἐπὶ θόλῃν καλέσας ἔκτεινε. (De Bello Gothico, i. i.)</p>

CHAPTER VII.

KING AND PEOPLE.

Authorities.

Sources :—

BOOK IV. TACITUS, 'The Germania.' JORDANES, 'De Rebus Ge-
CH. 7. ticus.'

Guides :—

Waitz, 'Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte,' vol. i. Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen' (Abtheilungen 1-4). Köpke, 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen.'

Now that Theodoric has safely brought his people into the promised land of Italy, has conquered and slain his enemy, and seated himself at Ravenna, undoubted king and ruler of the land, it may be well to pause for a little space, and, before we contemplate the new State which he founded there, to ask ourselves what was understood in the Gothic host by that word, kingship, in virtue of which he ruled them. We shall find indeed, as we proceed, that the spirit and maxims of the new kingdom, its form, and the machinery of its administration, were Roman rather than Gothic. Still, even in order to grasp this fact more clearly, it will be well to devote a few pages to a subject upon which volumes have been usefully written, that of *German Kingship*.

‘God save the King!’—words how lightly BOOK IV.
spoken by revellers at a banquet, or by shouting CH. 7.
crowds as a monarch moves slowly through their The King.
midst! Yet in this familiar formula are enshrined two words of mysterious power, which have come down with the stream of national life, ‘through caverns measureless to man,’ from those distant highlands wherein the eye of science strains, and strains in vain, to discover the origins of the human race and of human society. To argue from the ancient origin of these two names of power that there is any necessary connection between them; to maintain, as the advocates of the divine right of kings once did, that religion forbids men to govern themselves under republican forms, however clear it may be that the State will best be so administered, is an absurdity of which few men will now be guilty. But, nevertheless, it is permitted us to gaze, with a wonder in which there is something of love and something of reverence, on this wonderful word, so different in form in the various languages of the earth,—Melech, Basileus, Rex, Thiudans, King,—yet so essentially the same in power, which constrains the many members of one vast community, her strong men, her wise men, her holy men, to bring the best of their gifts to the treasury, and to devote the strength of their lives to the service of one man, in mind and body no different from themselves, but—a King.

Reverence for the kingly office seems to have

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

The Ger-
manic
nations
essentially
king-
lovers.

been deeply implanted in the heart of the Germanic branch of the great Aryan family; and it has been, in the World-life, the especial function of the Germanic peoples to carry kingship and faithfulness to the king, or—to borrow two words from the Latin tongue—Royalty and Loyalty, farther down into the ages than any other group of free nations¹. How early the old Homeric royalties of Greece and the kings of Rome disappeared from the scene we all know. On the other hand, the long-lived royalties of Assyria, of China and of Persia, were mere despotisms, giving no free play to the national character, and stiffening the peoples that were subjected to them with immobility. To reign on such terms, to be the master of millions of slaves, was comparatively an easy task, when once the nation had become used to the clank of its fetters. But to maintain for generations, to prolong into the strangely different world of modern society, that peculiar combi-

¹ As Waitz finely says: 'The word King is the expression for an Institution which has been most intimately connected with the constitutional history of the Germans, which has thereby maintained its hold on the life of the European peoples, while the beginnings of a similar development in the nations of classical antiquity were early stifled and never able to show their true importance for the life of the State' (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, i. 326). Shelley's phrase, 'King-deluded Germany,' puts this thought from a republican point of view. Tennyson's words—

'The one true seed of freedom sown

Betwixt a people and an ancient throne,'

contain the same idea, but expressed with some insular exclusiveness.

nation of kingly authority and popular freedom which was characteristic of most of the Germanic royalties in the first century after Christ, and which contained the seeds of the institution which we now call Constitutional Monarchy,—this has been a great and marvellous work, and one which could only be accomplished by a race with exceptional faculties for governing and being governed.

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

We have the authority of Tacitus, that acute observer of the life of states and nations, for asserting that German kingship was, in his day, for the most part thus compounded of the two apparently antagonistic principles of Authority and Liberty. He contrasts the *libertas Germanorum* with the *regnum Arsacis*, when deciding that Rome has suffered more from the free barbarians beyond the Rhine than from the compact despotism of the monarchy beyond the Euphrates¹. When describing the sway of the Gothic kings, he says that, 'though somewhat stricter than that of most other German rulers, it still stretched not to the infringement of liberty².' Only one race, the Suiones³, who dwelt in the islands of the Baltic and on the Swedish promontories, were

Tacitus on the limited character of German kingship,

¹ 'Quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas' (Germ. 37).

² 'Gothones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam caeterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem' (Germ. 43).

³ Together with their neighbours the Sitones, who were yet more enslaved, inasmuch as their despot was a queen.

BOOK IV. 'under the absolute rule of one man, to whom
CH. 7. they were bound to pay implicit obedience¹.' The

great power attained in this tribe by even the slaves of royalty, the fact that the nation could not be trusted with the custody of its own arms, which were kept, in time of peace, in a locked-up arsenal guarded by a slave, were emphatic proofs of the absence of the popular element in the government of this nation, and strengthened by contrast the general picture of German freedom.

Great
 variety of
 political in-
 stitutions
 among the
 early Ger-
 mans.

It is, however, from Tacitus also that we receive our impressions of the extraordinary manifoldness of political life amongst the German nations. In its way, his sketch of Germania in the first century reminds us of the mediæval *Reich*, with its wonderful assortment of kingdoms, duchies, ecclesiastical states, republican free towns, all congregated together, like the clean and unclean beasts in the ark, under the rule, often only the nominal rule, of some Hapsburg or Luxemburg emperor. Of course, in the Germania, even this semblance of unity is wanting; but the variety of political life is there. Observing the language of Tacitus with attention, we soon discover from his pages that the kingly form of government was not universal among the Germans. *Rex vel princeps, rex vel civitas*, are alternative expressions, frequently used by him. The mere fact that the chief ruler of a barbarian state is not always called by the

¹ 'Eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi' (Germ. 44 : compare 25).

same name by the historians of a civilised country, who have occasion to mention his existence, is not one upon which it would be safe to lay much stress. We must be conscious that we talk with great looseness of Indian chiefs, of Zulu kings, and so forth, and that we have no very clear idea of a difference in rank and power between Cetewayo and the father of Pocahontas, when we speak of the former as a king and of the latter as a chief. Something of the same vagueness may be observed in the Roman writers, taken as a class, from Cæsar to Ammianus, when they speak of the leaders of the Teutonic tribes who warred on Rome. But with Tacitus the case is different. His eye was quick for all political facts. His mind was always revolving the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of government. Even when describing the wild freedom of Germany, he is half-thinking about Rome and her vanished liberties; when face to face with Parthia, he is comforted by the thought that at least he is not under the lawless despotism of an Eastern king.

Every word therefore of Tacitus respecting the political institutions of our Teutonic forefathers is precious; and these hints of his about the *Rex* or the *Civitas* show us that there were German tribes not under the sway, however lenient, of one sole king. Some modern writers speak of these tribes as Republican, and the expression, though not used by Tacitus himself, brings before us more vividly than any other the nature of the rule

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

The 'Republican',
States of
ancient
Germany.

2

BOOK IV. under which the Cherusci¹, the Batavi, and many
 CH. 7. other German tribes, were living at the Christian era. In time of war these republican tribes elected a leader (*Heritogo*, in modern German *Herzog*, translated in Latin by *Dux*, in English by *Duke*), who was necessarily a man of tried bravery². In peace they may have been presided over by some officer, also elective, who acted as supreme judge, and as president of their assemblies; but even the name of this president has perished³. In any case, however, the distinguishing mark of these magistracies was their *non-hereditary* character. The general or the judge was chosen for some special emergency; perhaps in some cases he held his office for the term of his natural life: but he held it only by the free choice of his countrymen, and had no claim to transmit any power to his son⁴.

In the royal tribes, on the other hand, the birth

¹ Waitz's view seems to me here more in accordance with the spirit of Tacitus' narrative than Dahn's.

² 'Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.'

³ Our early English *ealdorman* is as likely a name as any, but there seems no evidence of its wide extension.

⁴ It seems that the 'republican tribes' were chiefly in the west of Germany and the monarchical tribes in the east. Perhaps we may infer that the nations which pushed forth first moved furthest from the central Aryan home, lost their kingship the soonest, just as monarchical institutions have struck a deeper root in England than in her colonies. But, on the other hand, when the migrations were resumed (no doubt under circumstances of greater danger and difficulty) in the centuries after Christ, we shall see that they distinctly tended *in favour of kingship*.

of the supreme ruler was everything¹. Doubtless the king was rich, doubtless he must be personally brave (or else his warriors would soon find a fitter leader), doubtless he had a large following of devoted henchmen; but none of these things alone would qualify him to be chosen king. He must be sprung from some kingly family—the Amals, or the Balthæ, or the Asdings, or the Merovings—who had been kings (or at any rate nobles) ‘from a time to which the mind of man runneth not to the contrary;’ some family which, while the nation was still heathen, boasted that it was sprung from the seed of gods, and which still linked itself with the remembrance of the heroes of old, even after the missionary-priest had dispeopled Walhalla and sent Odin and Gaut to dwell for ever beside Jupiter and Venus in the penal lake of fire.

Yet, being born of the kingly family, it was by no means needful that he should be what we call ‘the head of the house’ by lineal descent. It is hardly necessary to say, to those who know anything of the history even of mediæval monarchy, that the strict principles of primogeniture and representation, which would make the crown descend in a line as definitely fixed as the course of succession to an English estate settled ‘in tail male,’ were quite unknown to the Germanic nations. Of course a veteran Gothic warrior-king, gathered to his fathers in a good old age, and

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.Kingship
essentially
hereditaryBut no
strict order
of succe-
sion.

¹ ‘Reges ex nobilitate sumunt.’

BOOK IV. leaving a warlike eldest son in the vigour of his
 CH. 7.

years, would generally be succeeded by that son. That is the natural course of things, and in all such cases monarchy and primogeniture easily become entwined together. Still, even in these instances, the nation chose, the nation raised the first-born on the shield, and acclaimed him as king. And if the dead king's children were minors, or if the eldest son was a *nothing*, incapable in council or a coward in the field, if there was some national hero standing near to the throne, and overshadowing by his fame the relatives who came before him in the strict order of descent, in all such cases the elective element in Germanic kingship asserted itself, and, by no fraud upon the postponed claimants, by no usurpation of the preferred claimant, the worthiest, kingliest, wisest, Amal or Balth, was called to the throne.

Good and
 evil of the
 system.

No doubt this manner of bestowing the crown—inheritance tempered by election—had its dangers, leading, as it did easily, to the wars and heart-burnings of a disputed succession. It may very probably have been a presentiment of these dangers which led Gaiseric to promulgate a law of succession for the Vandals, according to which the oldest of his descendents at each vacancy, in whatever line of descent, was to be called to the empty throne ; a provision, however, which did not work well in practice nor avert the dreaded danger. But in the main, for communities such as were the

German tribes, living in the midst of foes, and in need, before all things, of strong and wise leadership, we may believe that the principle of choice out of one particular family worked well, and tended, by 'the survival of the fittest,' to bring about an improvement in the strain of royal blood, and to make the kings more and more fit by stature, strength, and capacity of brain, to stand forth as unquestioned leaders of men.

Around the king's person, parting him off in some degree from the great mass of the free but undistinguished warriors of the nation, but also constantly checking and curbing his power, and compelling him 'so to rule as not to transgress the bounds of liberty,' stood the nobles. Who can say whence they sprang? For they too, like the king, have an old-world origin, and if a warrior is noble, it is because the oldest man in the host cannot remember a tradition of the days when the ancestors of that warrior were anything else but noble. Partly, perhaps, they are descended from younger branches of the kingly house: partly they represent the vanished royalty of smaller tribes, whom the great nation, as it rolled onwards, has incorporated with itself: partly, it may be, here or there, they are the descendants of some great chief of a pre-existing people, Finnish or Basque or Celtic, whom the invading Teutons have found it easier to win over and to assimilate than to destroy. But in any case, whatever its origin, the important thing to notice about this old Teutonic nobility is,

BOOK IV. that it is essentially a counterpoise to the kingly
CH. 7.

Nobility by
 birth.

Nobility by
 service.

power. In after days, when the new Teutonic kingdoms are reared 'in Welshland,' a new nobility will arise, the so-called 'nobility by service,' represented by the 'king's thegns' among our own ancestors. These men, the king's butlers and seneschals and chamberlains, will shine by the borrowed light of their master, and naturally for a time will do nothing to check and everything to magnify his power. While they and the obsequious ecclesiastics who stand with them round the new-raised throne are hymning the praises of Our Lord Clovis or Chlotachar, the old nobility, which used to remind him, sometimes with a certain roughness, that he was only the first among his equals, will have had its ranks thinned by the wars and the migrations, will find itself in the midst of a new and hostile order of things, unpopular with the Roman provincials, anathematised by the clergy, vexed by the exactions of the king's officers, and continually postponed to the new and pliable 'service-nobles' of the Court, and thus, silently and sullenly, will vanish away.

The *Comitatus*.

A conspicuous feature in the social life of the ancient Germans, and one which probably aided the development of kingly power (though assuredly it was not the origin of that power), was the institution which the Latins called *comitatus*, and which the Germans now speak of as *Gefolgschaft*. We have no name exactly corresponding to it, but our historians are endeavouring to introduce

the term *Comrades* to describe the members of a Comitatus¹. The description of such a band given by Tacitus remains the most accurate and the most vivid picture that we possess of it.

'When the young nobles have received their arms and are enrolled in the ranks of the warriors, they take their places by the side of the hardy veterans, nor do they blush to be seen among the "comrades". Each receives his rank in the "comradeship" according to the judgment of him whom they follow, and great is the rivalry among the comrades which shall attain to the highest place beside his chief, and of the chiefs which shall have the most numerous and the most eager comrades. This is their dignity, this their strength: to be ever surrounded by a great cluster of picked youths is in peace a distinction and in war a defence. Nor is this so in a chief's own tribe only, but among neighbouring states also; his name and his glory are spread abroad if his comradeship excel in numbers and valour. Such chiefs are in request for embassies, are loaded with presents: by their mere renown they often virtually end a war. When the day of battle is come, it is disgraceful for the chief to be excelled in bravery by the comrades, disgraceful for them not to equal the chief's valour. Yea, and base for all the rest of his life is he accounted by himself and others who has escaped alive from

as described by Tacitus.

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¹ See Stubbs' Const. Hist. i. 27; Green's Making of England, 173; and cp. Freeman, Comp. Politics, 257-263. ² Comites.

BOOK IV. the battle, leaving his chief behind him. Him to
 CH. 7. guard, him to defend, in his glory to merge every
 brave deed of his own, this is the one great point
 of honour¹ with the comrade. The chiefs fight for
 victory, the comrades for their chief. If the com-
 munity in which they were born grows sluggish
 with too long peace and restfulness, most of the
 young nobles seek of their own accord those
 nations which may then be waging war elsewhere,
 both because this race hates rest, and because
 renown is more easily won on well-balanced battle-
 fields; nor can a great comradeship be well kept
 together except by violence and war. Each com-
 rade claims from the chief's generosity that great
 war-horse of his, that gory and conquering spear.
 For the rest, the seat at the banquet, the bountiful
 though coarse repast, are taken as sufficient pay.
 The material for the chief's generosity is provided
 by war and rapine. You would find it harder to
 persuade them to till the ground and wait a year
 for the harvest, than to challenge a foe and earn
 honourable wounds. For it seems ever to them a
 dull and stupid thing to accumulate, by the sweat
 of your brow, that which you might make your
 own by the shedding of blood.'

Influence
 of the Co-
 mitatus on
 national
 life.

This passage has given rise to many dissertations
 which are not perhaps the most fruitful part of
 German archæology. Who might become the head
 of a *comitatus*², what precise relation existed be-

¹ *Praecipuum sacramentum.*

² Dahn thinks every free man had this privilege. Waitz

tween the 'comrades' and their chief, what states were founded by the leaders of a *comitatus*, and other questions of the like nature, have been discussed with much ability and some bitterness, but seem after all to resolve themselves only into the setting of one man's guess against another's. More important is it to keep the poetical aspect of this Germanic institution vividly before us. All admit that it has in it the promise of chivalry, the germs of the feudal relation between lord and vassal. We have already had occasion, in tracing the achievements of the young Theodoric, to see how vigorous was the institution in his day, four centuries after it had been described by Tacitus. It had undoubtedly a considerable influence in developing the idea and the power of royalty among the German races. Probably also the life of adventure and hardship which it promoted, favoured the growth of great qualities of mind and body among the royal families from whom some of the rulers of mediæval, and a few of the rulers of modern Europe have descended. For to what depths of degradation they might sink when the stimulating influence of the *comitatus* was withdrawn, and the barbarian king could wallow undisturbed in the swinish delights of his barbarian royalty, is abundantly shown by the dreary story of the sons of the Merovings.

Around the king and his 'comrades,' and around strongly urges that only a king or chief (in a republican state) might claim it.

BOOK IV. the outer circle of the nobles, gathered the great mass

CH. 7.

Simple free
men.

of the nation, the free but not noble warriors, who were known as 'free Franks' in the army of Clovis, and as *ceorls* on the soil of England. Of the social life of these men, of their days passed in alternations of fierce excitement and sturdy idleness, of their carousings and their mad devotion to the dice-box, Tacitus draws for us a striking and

The public
meeting.

well-known picture. Our present business is to follow them to what our fathers called the *Folc-mote*, other tribes the *Folks-Thing* or the *Mall*, and Tacitus the *Concilium*, the assembly from which in direct lineal succession our own Parliament is descended. (So long as the tribe is contained in narrow limits, each new and full moon sees the assembly of the tribesmen.) As it grows into a wide-spreading nation, the times of meeting are necessarily reduced, till, in the vast Frankish Empire, they occur only twice or thrice in the year. The men come armed, and the mere fact of being free and a warrior is enough to give a right to attend the *Folc-mote*, though, for full voice and vote, it is necessary that a man should also have land—which means a home—of his own. Among all these armed men the *Things-fried*, the peace of the great meeting, prevails; and however hot the discussion may be, none may dare to lift a hand against his opponent in debate. They do not assemble punctually,—'this,' says Tacitus, 'is the fault of their German freedom,'—but often waste two or three days in waiting for those who come

not on the appointed day. Then, at length, when it pleases the multitude to begin, they sit down, all arrayed in their armour. The priests, inconspicuous generally in the German polity, but prominent on these occasions,—perhaps in order to guard the *Things-fried* by religious reverence,—call for silence, and the clash of the barbarians' talk and song ceases. The king, if there be a king, if not, the head of the state, begins the debate. The warriors follow in no exact order of precedence. Age, noble birth, mighty deeds in war, the gift of eloquence, all give a speaker the right to be heard: but none, not even the king, orders; all must seek to persuade. If the speaker's advice displeases, he is interrupted by the indignant clamour of his hearers: if it meets their approval, they brandish their mighty spears and so give to the barbarian orator his most coveted applause.

And what is the business thus debated of? Business transacted there. Many matters doubtless, belonging to the peaceful life of the tribe, which Tacitus has not described to us. He mentions the accusation, or, as we should call it, the impeachment, of great offenders, upon whom the punishment of death may be inflicted. This man, who was a traitor to the tribe, is hung from a tree; that one, who was only a Nithing and a coward, is plunged into a morass with a hurdle over him to prevent his struggling out of it; another, who is found guilty of some lighter offence, is fined so many horses or oxen.

The judicial work of the assembly at an end,

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

its administrative work begins. They elect the chiefs who are to dispense justice and keep some kind of barbarian order in each shire or village¹. Then, no doubt, there are often questions of boundary to settle, some rudimentary works of civilisation to be talked over, the clearance of this forest, the dyking out of that encroaching stream. But after all, the debates of these warriors turned most naturally towards war. Over and over again, in these German *Folk-motes*, was the question raised, 'When and how and where must we make a stand against this all-pervading tyranny of Rome? Shall we make war on such and such a subject-tribe and punish them for their submission to the common enemy? Or shall we strike boldly at the great enemy himself? Shall we swim the Rhine, shall we swarm over the easily crossed *Pfahlgraben*, and win great spoil in the rich cities beyond?'

Slaves and
serfs.

To complete the picture of the social state of the German tribes we should need to inquire into the condition of the slaves, and of the men, if there were such, who occupied a position akin to that of the Roman *colonus*, bound to till the land of a lord and to make him certain payments out of the produce, and yet not entirely dependent on his caprices. That there were slaves following in the

¹ 'Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt' (Tac. Germ. 12). Though Shire is not scientifically accurate as a translation of Pagus (= Gau), no English word seems to express it better. (Compare Freeman, English Towns, &c., 'The Shire and the Gá.')

train of these stalwart barbarians there can be no doubt: nay, we are informed by Tacitus that even a German warrior, in his overmastering passion for play, would sometimes sell himself, and doubtless his wife and children also, into slavery. So far therefore, the grand outline of popular freedom exhibited to us by the German folc-mote, at which every warrior has a right to be present, requires some modification. Like the free commonwealths of Greece and Rome, the German state does rest, to some extent, on a basis of slavery. It is clear, however, that slavery was not, as in some of those commonwealths, the cornerstone of the fabric. (The most careful inquirers are of opinion that slavery, or serfdom, constrained the movements of but a small part of the population of ancient Germany¹) and it is noteworthy that when Tacitus speaks of the idle life, during peace, of the German warrior, he says that household cares and the tillage of the fields were left [not to the slaves but] to the women, the old men, and the less robust members of the family.

To go back to our main subject, the power of the kings in that Germany which Tacitus described:

Limitations of the royal power.

¹ It is possible that this conclusion may have to be modified, if my friend Mr. Seeböhm should establish his contention on behalf of the general prevalence of a servile tenure of land. But in his view the influence of the Roman system of *coloni* and the Roman *villa* counted for much in bringing about this state of things, which was not therefore purely Germanic; and, besides, his inquiries relate chiefly to a period beginning with the fifth century after Christ, whereas I am for the moment dealing with the first.

BOOK IV. it is manifest that it was subject to some strong
CH. 7. controlling forces. A body of nobles, nearly as proud of their birth as the king himself, watched his movements and jealously resented every word or gesture which would seem to imply that he was a master and they his slaves. The frequently held popular assemblies, even if attended, as was probably the case in quiet times, by but a small part of the nation, kept alive the tradition of the rights of the people. It was a very different thing to dictate an unpopular order, as the Cæsar of Rome might do, in the privacy of his *secretarium*, leaving the odium of its execution to the officer who sped with it to some distant province; and to have to defend that order oneself, as must the leader of the free warriors of Germany, in the next assembly of the people, to see the spears brandished in menace rather than in applause, to hear the harsh murmur of martial voices uttering in no courtly tones their disapprobation of the deed.

Changes in
the four
hundred
years be-
tween
Tacitus and
Theodoric.

So far we have been dealing with the political life of our Teutonic forefathers at the time when Tacitus wrote. From that date till Theodoric's establishment of his Italian kingdom four centuries had passed; an interval of time which may count for comparatively little in a changeless Oriental monarchy, but which counts for much in European states, when the busy brain of an Aryan people is kindled by some new and great idea, or is brought forcibly into contact with other civilisations

than its own. Four centuries before the date at which these words are being written, the Canary Islands were believed to be the uttermost limit of the habitable world in the direction of the setting sun. All the myriad influences which America has exerted upon Europe—to say nothing of those which Europe has exerted upon America—Peruvian gold, voyages of the Buccaneers, Negro-slavery, the Rights of Man—have had but those four hundred years to work in.

During the four centuries which we are now specially considering, from Domitian to Zeno, the heart and mind of Germany were ever in contact with the wonderful fascination of the world-Empire of Rome. First, for two or three generations, they had to fight the almost desperate battle of defence against Roman aggression. Then, when Quadi and Marcomanni, by their stubborn resistance to the noble Marcus, had renewed the old teaching of Arminius, and shown the barbarians that Rome was not invincible; still more when, in the miserable anarchy of the third century, Rome herself seemed to have lost the power of self-preservation, and to be falling from ledge to ledge down the precipice of ruin, the Germans began to entertain the idea of something more than self-defence, and with ever-increasing pertinacity to renew the attempt to carve out for themselves settlements (not necessarily independent settlements) in the fair 'Welchland' on the other side of Rhine and Danube.

All these wars, all this stir and movement

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

Roman influence
ever at
work.
81 to 491.

165-181.

BOOK IV. among the peoples, tended to increase the power of
 CH. 7. the kingship. A weapon which was to pierce the

The migra-
 tions
 strength-
 ened king-
 ship.

Empire's defensive armour of castles and legions needed to be sharpened to a point and tipped with steel; and that steel point was royalty. Moreover, in the very act of the migration, many old associations would be loosened, the kinships which had dwelt in the same secluded valley for generations, and which mistook

‘the rustic murmur of their bourg
 For the great wave that echoes round the world,

would be shaken out of their boorish conservatism, which, with all its dulness, nevertheless had been a certain bulwark against royal encroachments. Above all, the members of the old nobility, conspicuous for their deeds of headlong valour, would, many of them, leave their bones to whiten on the Roman battle-field, and more and more, as they fell in war, would their places be filled up by the young and dashing ‘comrades’ of the king, men perhaps of noble birth themselves, but magnifying the office of their chief, and prouder of their loyal service to him round whose standard they gathered than of their own descent from the gods of Walhalla.

Instances
 already
 met with.

Let the reader apply these general principles to some of those incidents in the Germanic migration which have been already recorded: let him think of Fridigern, of Athanaric, of Eriulph, the chiefs of the Visigoths, of Hermanric the mighty and wide-ruling king of the Ostrogoths: then let him re-

member how Alaric's elevation on the shield and the acclamation of his name as king gave at once a point and a purpose to the previously desultory warfare of the Goths, and led, by no obscure connection of causes and effects, to the occupation of the Eternal City itself by the forces of the barbarians. One instance of a Folc-mote, at least of a council of war, which might possibly bear that character, we noticed in the pages of Claudian¹. It was that held before the battle of Pollentia, in which the poet represents an old chief as pleading for peace and harshly silenced by the vengeful voice of Alaric. We do not need the doubtful authority of the poet to assure us that, if assemblies of the people were held during these marchings and counter-marchings on the soil of Italy, this would generally be the result. All military instinct would be in favour of obeying rather than arguing with the young and brilliant leader of the Goths; and the necessities of the 'war power,' which made a temporary autocrat of so constitutional a ruler as President Lincoln, might well make Alaric the Balh the unquestioned disposer of the lives and fortunes of his people.

The vassalage into which so many German kings were forced under the yoke of Attila the Hun probably tended towards the effacement of popular freedom. Before Attila, Ardaric and Walamir might tremble, but to their subjects they would be terrible, as representing not only their own power,

BOOK IV.

CH. 7.

Alaric and
the old
Gothic
chief at
Pollentia.

The Hun-
nish do-
minion.

¹ See vol. i. p. 290.

BOOK IV. but all the consolidated might of that heterogeneous
 CH. 7. monarchy.

The Vandal
 kings.

As for the polity of the Vandals, we saw, in tracing the history of the conquest and land-settlement of Africa, how vast a preponderating influence was thereby assigned to the king. It is true that, by careful examination, some traces of the old Teutonic freedom may still be discovered among the warriors of Gaiseric¹, but they are indeed rare and feeble. Peace and war, treaties, persecutions, all seem to be decided upon and carried through by the overwhelming authority of the king.

The Ostro-
 gothic
 royalty.

And thus we come to the subject with which we are now specially concerned, the kind and degree of kingly authority wielded by the Amal Theodoric. It must be stated at once that this was absolutely unlike the limited and jealously watched authority of the German kings described by Tacitus. After the Ostrogoths crept forth from under the world-shadowing might of Attila, they fell into a position of more or less dependence upon the power of Eastern Rome; a power materially far less formidable than that of the terrible Hun, but more potent in its influence on the minds and thoughts of men. It is impossible to prove what effect the forty years between the death of Attila and the death of Odovacar had upon the 'Walamir-Goths;' but it is almost certain that many old German

¹ They are enumerated by Dahn (Kön. der Germ. i. 224-227).

ideas and customs were lost during that time of close intercourse and frequently-renewed alliance with Byzantium¹. For the fact that they did not become altogether Romanised and sink into the position of a mere military colony of the Empire, their old hereditary loyalty to the Amal kings was mainly answerable. The reader will remember in what insulting terms Theodoric the son of Triarius taunted the squalid retinue of his rival for their fall from their once high and prosperous estate. He was correct in saying that it was their loyalty to Theodoric the Amal that had brought them into that abyss of wretchedness. But the instinct of the nation was right. Theodoric was indeed the people's hope, and their loyalty to him brought them safely through so many dangers and trials and seated them at length as lords in the fairest lands of Italy.

But when the great enterprise was thus at length crowned with success, the author of it was no longer a king after the old Germanic pattern, bound to consult and persuade his people at every turn. As an uncontrolled, unthwarted ruler he had led them from Novæ to Ravenna. As an uncontrolled, unthwarted ruler he was thenceforward to guide the destinies of the nation in his palace by the Hadriatic.

Theodoric
in Italy not
a king of
the limited
German
type.

¹ I venture to doubt whether Dahn, in his extremely careful analysis of the German and Roman elements in the state-system of Theodoric, has made quite sufficient allowance for the *Byzantinisation* of the Goths themselves during these forty years of close contact with the Empire.

BOOK IV. There is no trace of anything like a single meeting of the *Folc-mote* during the reign of Theodoric.

CH. 7.

No Folc-mote.

All action in the State seems to proceed from the king alone, and though he condescends often to explain the reason for his edicts, he does this only as a matter of grace and favour, not of necessity, and in doing so he employs the same kind of language which is used in the Theodosian code. There is, as we shall see, at his death a faint acknowledgment of the right of the people to be consulted as to his successor ; but here again there is no more recognition of the elective character of the monarchy, if so much, as in the case of the successive wearers of the purple at Byzantium. In short, though Theodoric never assumed the title of emperor, his power, for all practical purposes, seems to have been exactly the same as an emperor's ; and we get a much more truthful idea of his position by thinking of him as the successor of Theodosius and the predecessor of Charles the Great, than by applying to him any of the characteristics of Teutonic royalty which we find in the *Germania* of Tacitus.

Parallel between Theodoric and Maroboduus.

But though the kingship of Theodoric was thus greatly changed from the old model of his forefathers' royalty, there is one case of an early German ruler, described to us by Tacitus himself, whose career is in some respects very similar to that of the Amal hero. Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, a very few years after the birth of Christ led his people across the Erzgebirge, and established a strong kingdom in Bohemia and

A.D. 3-19.

Bavaria and on the Middle Danube. A disciplined BOOK IV.
CH. 7. army of 70,000 men, hovering upon a frontier only 200 miles from Italy, caused even the great Augustus to tremble for the peace of his Transalpine provinces. No German had ever seemed more formidable to Rome, but he was formidable only because he was despotic. It is evident that in his kingship the rein was drawn far tighter than was usual in the Germanic states of that day, and this harsher system of government, though it made him for the time a more dangerous foe to Rome, prevented his dynasty from striking root in the affections of his people. When Arminius attacked him after about twenty years of rule, 'the name A.D. 17. of king,' that is, of despotic king, 'alienated the sympathy of his own countrymen from Maroboduus, while the cause of Arminius was popular, as he was fighting for liberty¹.' By this war Maroboduus was greatly weakened, and had to sue for the degrading help of Rome to avert absolute overthrow. Only two years later the Gothic chief- A.D. 19. tain Catualda, who had once been driven from his country by the might of Maroboduus, ventured on an expedition of revenge, which, by the help of the disloyal nobles of the Marcomannic kingdom, was completely successful; and forced Maroboduus, a hunted exile and outlaw, to seek the protection of Tiberius, who received this disarmed enemy of the

¹ 'Sed Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat' (Tac. Ann. ii. 44).

BOOK IV. Roman people into his territory, and permitted
CH. 7. him to spend the eighteen remaining years of his life in the friendly shelter of Ravenna. Strange vicissitude of fortune, which caused the first great absolute monarch of a German nation to grow old, amid the contempt of his people, in the very same capital which witnessed the splendid reign and honoured death of the greatest of German despots, Theodoric¹.

Theo-
 doric's rule
 must have
 jarred on
 German
 feelings.

Happily the reign of the Amal king ended in no such disastrous collision with the free spirit of his people as that which brought the might of Maroboduus to the ground. Yet, if there were any traditions of a healthy national life still lingering among the warriors whom he had settled in Italy, these must have been continually wounded by what they saw and what they heard at the Court of Ravenna. True, they still were summoned to appear, at any rate those who lived in the north of Italy, once a year in the presence of their King, and to receive a donative from his hand². They were not turned into Roman legionaries; they fought still in the old national order, with the great Gothic broadsword and under the command of their own captains of thousands³. But when

¹ Dahn's use of the early absolutism of Maroboduus to illustrate the despotic tendencies of Theodoric and other kings of the *Völkerwanderung*, seems to me one of the best things in the *Könige der Germanen*.

² This seems to be a fair inference from *Variarum*, v. 26.

³ From the *Millenarii* of Cassiodorus (*Var.* v. 26) we may fairly infer the continued existence of the *thusundifaths* of Ulfilas.

they stood in the presence of their countryman, the great Amal, they found him surrounded with all the pomp of Byzantine royalty. The diadem which the Western Emperors had worn was upon his head, silken robes, dyed with the purple of the *murex*, flowed over his shoulders, *silentiarii* in bright armour kept guard before the curtain which separated the awful *secretum* of the sovereign from the profane crowd of suitors and suppliants, the Prefect of the Sacred Bedchamber, some Roman courtier intent on currying favour with his new lord by an exaggerated display of servile devotion, stood ready to stop on the threshold any of his old 'comrades,' of however noble blood, who would venture unbidden into the presence of the King.

The donative and the ration-money were given¹ and were welcome to the spendthrift Goth, who had perhaps already dived away his lands to some fellow-soldier after they had sung together the old Gothic songs and drunk too deeply of the new delights of the wine of Italy. But before receiving the money, the old and grizzled warrior had perhaps to listen to some eloquent harangue from the lips of the fluent Roman quæstor, Cassiodorus, about the delights of being admitted to the royal presence and the living death which those endured

¹ *Donativum* and *Annonæ*. When Dahn (Kön. der Germ. iii. 66-82) has carefully traced the times and manner in which these two kinds of payment were made to the Gothic soldiers, he leaves, it seems to me, little real distinction between their remuneration and that given to the ordinary paid soldiers of the imperial army.

BOOK IV. who beheld not the light of his countenance—a
 CH. 7. harangue which almost made the donative loath-
 some, and which, if anything could have done so,
 would have quenched his loyal enthusiasm, when at
 last the veil was drawn asunder and the well-known
 form, conspicuous in so many battle-fields from the
 Bosphorus to the Ticino, moved forth to receive their
 acclamations.

Scanty in-
 formation
 as to the
 inner life
 of the
 Goths.

The picture here drawn of Gothic dissatisfaction at the exaltation of the royal prerogative is chiefly a conjectural one, but the fact is that almost all our information as to the feelings of the Gothic element in Theodoric's new state has to be derived from a few faint and widely-scattered hints, combined and vivified by the historical imagination. The information which reaches us as to the manner of the kingdom—and it is abundant—comes all from the Roman side. The rhetorical Cassiodorus, the courtly Ennodius, the dispirited Boethius, are all Romans. Even the Goth Jordanes is more than half-Roman at heart, and derives all his materials from Cassiodorus. We are therefore really without a picture of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy from the true Ostrogothic point of view. Only, in reading the phrases in which these rhetoricians and churchmen magnify the might of their master, we are sure that they must have grated on the ears of all that was self-respecting and genuinely Teutonic in the countrymen of Theodoric.

To a certain extent we, who have imbibed from our childhood the idea that kingship is never so

great a blessing to the world as when it is rigor- BOOK IV.
ously—almost jealously—controlled by the national CH. 7.
will, can share the feelings of disgust with which Theo-
our imaginary Gothic warrior listened to the ful- doric's own
some flatteries of his Roman fellow-subjects. It is probable
difficult for the most loyal admirer of Theodoric not attitude to-
to turn away with something more than weariness wards his
from the volume of state correspondence in which, ministers.
for page after page, the great King, by the pen of
his secretary, praises his own virtue, his own wis-
dom, his own moderation, his own love of equal
justice for Goth and Roman. Partly we become
reconciled to this apparent want of modesty by
remembering that, though the King is supposed
to speak, it is well understood that the clever
Quæstor really speaks for him. All the world
knew that in these letters it listened, not to Theo-
doric praising himself, but to Cassiodorus praising
Theodoric. The will of the King is undoubtedly ex-
pressed in these letters, and we may be sure that
his share in them was by no means limited to a
mere formal assent, or the languid addition of his
stencilled signature at the bottom. Yet when
Theodoric knew that the substance of the royal
will was therein contained, he probably gave him-
self little trouble about the form. For that, the
learned Quæstor was responsible. A brave Gothic
warrior would have blushed to enumerate his own
good qualities with so many swelling words of
vanity. But if this was the custom of the country,
it must be complied with ; and probably the King

BOOK IV. saw his short, business-like, verbal instructions
 CH. 7. expanded into the turgid state document, with similar feelings to those with which an Englishman receives from his lawyer the great expanse of sheepskin covered with legal verbiage, that is required to give validity to a purchase which was settled in an interview of an hour.

The noble
 aim which
 he kept in
 view.

After all, the great justification for the somewhat despotic form assumed by the government of Theodoric must be found in the object which he proposed to himself, and which, with signal success, he achieved. What was that object? It was in one word, *Civilitas*; the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and the safeguarding of all classes of his subjects from oppression and violence at the hands either of lawless men or of the ministers of the law. The golden words of Ataulfus, as recorded by Orosius¹, seem to have expressed exactly the aim which Theodoric kept constantly before him. Not to obliterate the Roman name, not to turn *Romania* into *Gothia*, but to correct the inherent lawlessness of the Gothic character by the restraint of those laws without which the state would cease to be a state, to restore the Roman name to its old lustre and increase its potency by Gothic vigour; this was the dream which floated before the mind of Ataulfus, this was the dream which became a reality for forty years under Theodoric and his descendants.

The state papers of the Ostrogothic monarchy,

¹ vii. 43. See vol. i. p. 402.

as will be seen by any one who glances through the abstract of the letters of Cassiodorus, are filled almost to satiety with the praises of this great gift, *Civilitas*. It was attained, however, not by the fusion, but rather by the federation, of the two peoples, over both of whom Theodoric was king. Whatever may have been his hope as to the ultimate effect of his measures, and probably the vision of a united Italian people did sometimes fascinate the mind of the King, or at any rate of his ablest minister, they well knew that at present the absolute assimilation of the two nations was impossible. The Goth could not be taught in one generation that reverence for the name of Law, that disposition to submit to authority, however harshly displayed, which had become an instinct with the Roman people. The Roman could not in one generation become imbued with that free heroic spirit, that love of danger and of adventure, which rang in every Gothic battle-song. This had perhaps never been precisely the endowment even of his forefathers, for even the Fabricii and the Valerii were inspired to do great deeds rather by a lofty sense of duty, self-respect, loyalty to their comrades and their country, than by the mere animal delight in fighting which fired the sons of Odin. And whatever the Roman's prowess had once been, it had now utterly left him, and generations of intermixture with a new stock were needed to bring back the iron into his blood.

Meantime, then, the two nations were to be

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.
Absolute
fusion of
the two
peoples not
attempted.

BOOK IV. governed with a strong and impartial hand, not
 CH. 7. as one people, but for one end, the happiness of
 A strong all. The Gothic sword was to preserve the soil of
 and just Italy from foreign foes, while the Roman practised
 rule the arts of peace and administered the laws which
 needed. had come down from his forefathers¹. The situa-
 Similar tion was like that which existed in Normandy under
 cases, William Longsword, like that which his descendant
 William the Bastard strove to establish in England
 the con- after the Conquest ; striving unsuccessfully because
 queror his English subjects, at any rate after the revolt of
 1068, refused to give him that willing obedience
 which undoubtedly was rendered during the larger
 part of his reign by the Roman population to Theo-
 doric². Or, to choose an illustration from our own
 times, the relation of the Ostrogothic King to the
 two classes of his subjects was like that of an en-
 lightened and conscientious Governor-General of
 Britishrule India to the Europeans and Hindoos under his
 in India. sway. Fusion of the two nations is at present an

¹ Various passages are quoted by Dahn (*Kön. der Germ.* iii. 58) from the *Variae* to illustrate this proposition. Perhaps the most striking is to be found in vii. 3 (translated at length in my *Abstract of the Variae*). But none of his quotations convince me that a Roman desirous to serve would have been absolutely *excluded* from the army, which seems to be Dahn's view. And in fact the case of Cyprian (*Var. viii. 21*), undoubtedly a Roman, yet serving himself and sending his sons to serve in the army, is fatal to the theory as thus stated. But no doubt such cases were excessively rare.

² Compare Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, i. 191, for the case of William Longsword, and v. 56-61 for a striking comparison between William the Conqueror and Theodoric.

impossibility. It is impossible to legislate for the European indigo-planter exactly as if he were a native Rajah, or for the headman of a Hindoo village as if he had the same ideas as a Queen's soldier from Devonshire. The best rulers keep the fusion of the two nations before them as an event possible in the far-distant future, and meanwhile strive so to govern that the thought of a common interest in the prosperity of the whole country, the idea of a true *Res Publica*, may take root in the minds of both races, that no violence be practised by the European against the Hindoo, and no chicane by the Hindoo against the European, that 'Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.'

This equal balance held between the two diverse nations requires, however, a steady hand holding the scales. A Folc-mote of the Goths would have made short work of the liberties of the Romans; a meeting of citizens in the Roman Forum, lashed to fury by the harangue of some windy orator, would soon have pulled down the statues of the Gothic king. And thus we are brought by these considerations to the same conclusion to which, as we have seen, all the events in the history of his nation tended. German kingship as wielded by Theodoric had to be despotic. The crown of the arch must be made strong and heavy to repress the upward thrust of the two opposing nationalities.

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

All this
tended to-
wards
despotism.

This being so, the laws and usages of the Gotho-

BOOK IV. Roman state throw not much light on the develop-
 CH. 7. ment of Teutonic institutions. It is the dying
 Consequently Theodoric's kingdom throws little light on Teutonic customs. Empire, as we shall see, rather than dawning Feudalism, which is displayed in the correspondence of Theodoric's secretary. The *Edictum Theodorici*, to which reference will be made in the next chapter, is not, like the codes of other German races—the Burgundian, the Salian, the Ripuarian—an exposition in barbarous Latin of the customary law of the tribes who had come to seat themselves within the borders of the Empire; but it is rather a selection of such parts of the Theodosian code and of the Roman *Responsa Prudentum* as were suitable for the new monarchy, a few unimportant changes being made in some of their provisions by the supreme will of the king¹.

Gothic law we may be sure there was, to be administered where Goths only were concerned²; but it has left little trace in any written documents, no doubt because in the great majority of cases Romans were concerned either alone or together with Goths, and here the irresistible

¹ And thus the *Edictum Theodorici* was in many respects a similar document to the *Breviarium* put forth by his son-in-law, Alaric the Visigoth, for the use of his Roman subjects.

² It seems to me that Dahn has conclusively proved this point in the fourth part of his *Könige der Germanen*. The very existence of the *Comes Gothorum*, and the manner in which he is ordered (Var. vii. 3) to do justice as between Goth and Goth, and as between Goth and Roman, must convince us that there was still a Gothic law.

tendency of the magistracy which Theodoric had taken over from the Empire was to make Roman law supreme. BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

There are two offices, however, which we may notice here, before we pass on to consider the Roman side of Theodoric's administration, since they are both purely Teutonic, and were no doubt always held by men of barbarian origin. One is that of the Count of the Goths, the other that of the Saiones.

1. The *Comes Gothorum* (we know not his Gothic title) was no doubt in practice always a general high in office, perhaps usually a great provincial governor. But his chief duty was to decide, doubtless according to the old traditional law of his people, any disputes which might arise between one Goth and another. Should the controversy lie between a born Goth and a born Roman, in that case he was to associate with himself a Roman jurisconsult and decide the strife 'according to fair reason'.¹ In estimating what 'fair reason' required, we may probably conclude that the Roman law, with its vast store of precedents, the accumulated experience of ages, aptly quoted and enforced by a quick-witted jurisconsult, would be almost uniformly victorious over the few and crude maxims of German Right, born in the forest or the pasture-land, and dimly present in the brain of some stalwart Count of the Goths,

¹ For the duties and functions of the *Comes Gothorum* see Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, vii. 3.

BOOK IV. more able to enforce his conclusions with his sword
 Cn. 7. than with his tongue.

Saio.

2. The *Saiones* were apparently a class of men peculiar to the Ostrogothic monarchy. More honoured than the Roman lictor (who was but a menial servant of the magistrate), but hardly perhaps rising to the dignity of a sheriff or a marshal, they were, so to speak, the arms by which Royalty executed its will. If the Goths had to be summoned to battle with the Franks, a Saio carried round the stirring call to arms¹. If a Prætorian Prefect was abusing his power to take away his neighbour's lands by violence, a Saio was sent to remind him that under Theoderic not even Prætorian Prefects should be allowed to transgress the law². If a new fort had to be built on some dolomite peak commanding the ravines of the Adige, and shutting out the barbarians of Northern Tyrol, a Saio was despatched to urge and guide the exertions of the provincials. The Saiones seem to have stood in a special relation to the king. They are generally called 'our Saiones,' sometimes 'our brave Saiones,' and the official virtue which is always credited to them (like the 'Sublimity' or the 'Magnificence' of more important personages) is 'Your Devotion.'

Tuitio regii
 nominis.

One duty which was frequently entrusted to the Saio was the *tuitio* of some wealthy and unwarlike Roman. It often happened that such a person, unable to protect himself against the rude

¹ Var. i. 24.

² Var. iii. 20.

assaults of sturdy Gothic neighbours, appealed to the King for protection. When the petition was granted, as it probably was in almost all cases, the person thus taken under the *tuitio regii nominis* acquired peculiar rights¹, and any maltreatment of his person or injury to his property was treated as more than an ordinary offence against *civilitas*, as a special act of contempt towards the royal authority. He seems to have had, at any rate in certain cases, a peculiar privilege of suing and being sued directly in the Supreme Court (*comitatus*) of the King, overleaping all courts of inferior jurisdiction. But the chief visible sign of the King's protection, and the most effective guarantee of its efficiency, was the stout Gothic soldier who as Saio was quartered in the wealthy Roman's house, ready to fight all his battles, and to make all other Goths respect the person and the property of him to whom Theodoric had pledged the royal word for his safety. A payment, of the amount of which we are not informed, but which probably varied according to the wealth of the Roman and the lineage of the Goth, was paid, *commodi nomine*, by way of douceur, by the defended to the defender.

The relation thus established was one which, being itself a somewhat barbarous remedy for barbarism, might easily degenerate from its original intention. Sometimes the protected Roman, having this robust Goth in his house, sharing

BOOK IV.
CH. 7.

Abuses to which the institution was liable.

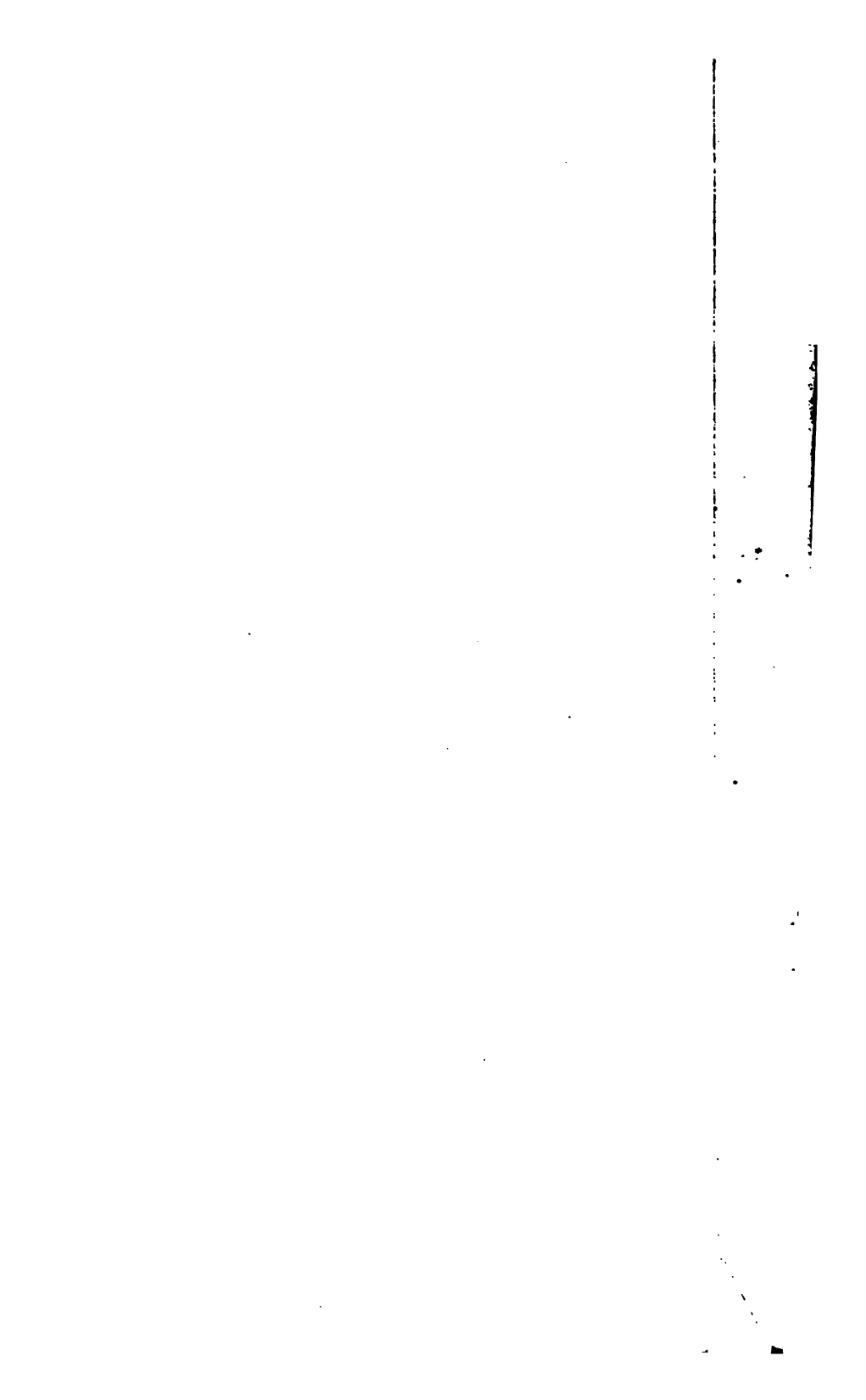
¹ His position perhaps resembled that of a ward in Chancery.

BOOK IV. his hospitality and ready to do his bidding, used
 CH. 7. him not merely for his own defence but for the oppression of his poorer and weaker neighbours¹. Sometimes the Saio, tired of ever guarding the soft, effeminate noble committed to his care, and perhaps stung by the silent assumption of superiority in knowledge and culture which lurked in all the Roman's words and gestures, would turn against his host and even violently assault his dainty person. Thus, to his eternal disgrace, did Amara², who actually drew a sword against the Senator Petrus, whose defender he was. He wounded his hand, and, had not the Roman been partly sheltered by a door, would have severed it from the wrist. Yet, notwithstanding this evil deed, he had the audacity to claim from Petrus, *commodi nomine*, the Saio's usual gratuity. Rightly did the indignant King order that Amara should be removed from the post of defender, the duties of which he so strangely discharged, that his place should be given to his countryman Tezutzat, and that he should refund twice the sum which he had exacted for his gratuity.

Slight indications like this of the footing upon which the two nations lived may help us to understand the difficulty of the problem set before Theodoric the common ruler of both of them, and to appreciate more highly the skill which for thirty years he displayed in solving it.

¹ So we may perhaps infer from the caution contained in Var. ii. 4, as well as from human nature.

² Var. iv. 27.





CHAPTER VIII.

THEODORIC AND HIS COURT.

Authorities.

Sources :—

THE ANONYMUS VALESII (described in the text), the *Variae* BOOK IV. of CASSIODORUS, PROCOPIUS de Bello Gothico, and JORDANES Ch. 8. de Rebus Geticis.

Guides :—

For the life of Cassiodorus, Herm. Usener's 'Anecdoton Holderi' (Bonn and Wiesbaden, 1877), which will be described in a later chapter, R. Köpke's 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen' (Berlin, 1859), Ebert's 'Christlich-Lateinische Litteratur' (Leipzig, 1874), and Monographs on Cassiodorus by August Thorbecke (Heidelberg, 1867) and Adolph Franz (Breslau, 1872). This will be the best place for noticing the chief works of the special *Theodoric literature*.

'Vita Theodorici regis Ostrogothorum et Italiae,' by *Joannes Cochlaeus*, annotated by John Peringskiöld (Stockholm, 1699), was a pretty good book for its time, consisting largely of extracts from Cassiodorus, interspersed with some statements made on very inferior authority. Cochlaeus's want of accurate knowledge of the history of the time is shown by his quoting the celebrated description by Sidonius of the Court of Theodoric the *Visigoth*, as if it applied to Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who came to the throne after the death of Sidonius; but this error, which is frequently made by scholars of the eighteenth century, is probably due to the fact that that letter is included in the

BOOK IV. editio princeps of the works of Cassiodorus. There is an
 CH. 8. amusing display of inapposite and probably inaccurate learning, as to Runic inscriptions and the like, in the notes of Peringskiöld.

The three best books on the subject of Theodoric (always excepting Dahn's volume on the Ostrogothic Kingship) were called forth directly or indirectly by a prize offered in 1808 by the French Institute, for the best essay on the following subject, 'What was the condition of the peoples of Italy in respect of public and private law during the rule of the Ostrogoths? What were the chief principles of the legislation of Theodoric and his successors? and especially, What was the difference which it established between the Conquerors and Conquered?' The thought occurs to one, that the Institute possibly wished to suggest a parallel between Theodoric and Napoleon, or to deduce from the generous policy of the former some rules for the guidance of the latter.

The first prize was taken by a German, Georg Sartorius, Professor at Göttingen (*Versuch über die Regierung der Ostgothen während ihrer Herrschaft in Italien*; Hamburg, 1811), the second by a Frenchman, Naudet (*Histoire de la Monarchie des Gothes en Italie*; Paris, 1810). Sartorius's book, with which I am best acquainted, is an extremely painstaking and helpful treatise on Ostrogothic administration, chiefly, of course, compiled from the letters of Cassiodorus.

Fifteen years later (in 1824), the seed sown by the announcement of the French Institute bore fruit in another German book, '*Geschichte des Ost-Gothischen Reiches in Italien*,' by J. C. F. Manso (Breslau, 1824). This book deals more with external events than either of the other two just named, and carries on the history to the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom; but it also gives a very useful survey of the laws and administration of Theodoric. Manso reprints at the end of his essay Ennodius's *Panegyricus*, with some comments on difficult passages

which have aroused the rather contemptuous criticism of **BOOK IV.**
Fertig (Magnus Felix Ennodius und seine Zeit, Abth. III). CH. 8.

Of inferior quality are the two following, '*Histoire de Théodoric le Grand, Roi d'Italie*,' par L. M. *du Roure* (2 vols. Paris, 1846), and '*Théodoric Roi des Ostrogoths et d'Italie*' (the title seems taken from *Cochlaeus*), par Paul *Deltuf*, Paris, 1869. Both of these books are very inaccurate, and neither can be considered of much value as a historical authority. *Du Roure* puts in the forefront of his work Cardinal Maury's maxim '*Pour écrire l'histoire il faut la deviner*,' and he certainly has guessed it, often with amusing inaccuracy. Yet the book no doubt served its author's purpose, since it gave him an opportunity of informing his readers (p. 29, n. 1) that the *du Roures* were a noble family in the South of France descended from a Gothic or Burgundian chief. And, however unfitted he may be for the task of writing a history, it seems impossible for a Frenchman to be dull. Both *du Roure* and *Deltuf* have provided us with pleasant reading, and it is an interesting employment for the student to mark their frequent errors. Some of *du Roure's* political reflections on the character of Theodoric's government are really good, and *Deltuf*, alone as far as I know among Theodoric's biographers, has noticed the letter which is apparently addressed by Theodoric to the deposed Emperor Augustulus (*Cass. Var. iii. 35*).

WE have endeavoured in the previous chapter to look at Theodoric king of the Goths and the Romans with the eyes of such of his old barbarian comrades as survived the hardships of the march and the perils of four bloody battles, and found themselves quartered in the pleasant lands of Italy, with every possession that heart could desire except their old freedom. Let us now hear what the Roman inhabitants of the land, the orators and

Theodoric
from the
Roman
point of
view.

BOOK IV. churchmen, who alone could translate his deeds
 CH. 8. into literature and so transmit his fame to posterity, have to tell us concerning him.

No stirring
 events
 mark his
 reign.

It may be stated at once that no great events (and no great historian illustrate his reign.) Sceldom has there been a better illustration of the proverb, 'Happy is the nation that has no annals;' for in the comparative poverty of our historical information one thing is clear, that the period during which Theodoric bore sway, a period equivalent to the average length of a generation of mankind, was a time of great and generally diffused happiness for the Italian population, one that stood out in emphatic contrast to the century of creeping paralysis which preceded, and to the ghastly cycle of wars and barbarous revenges which followed that peaceful time.

And no
 great his-
 torian.

But, had the events of this reign been many we could have said little about them. By some strange fatality, the Ostrogothic King, with all his generous patronage of arts and literature, never lighted on the 'sacred bard' who should keep his fame green through the centuries, nor on the fluent historian who should weave the various actions of his time into a connected history. Or, if such a work ever was written—and possibly the later books of Cassiodorus' history of the Goths would have answered to this description—the foolish sieve of Time, which so often retains the sand and lets the pure gold fall through into oblivion, has not preserved it to our days.

Much valuable and interesting information how-
 ever, as to both home and foreign affairs, can be
 obtained from the official correspondence of Cas-
 siodorus, the manner of the composition of which
 has been glanced at in the previous chapter. But
 the only continuous account of the history of his
 reign—except a few meagre sentences of Jordanes—
 is contained in the mysterious fragment which is
 quoted by historians as *Anonymus Valesii*, and which
 is always printed (for no very obvious reason) at the
 end of the history of Ammianus Marcellinus.

BOOK IV.
 CH. 8.

'Anonymus
 Valesii.'

This unknown scribe, with whom we have
 already made some acquaintance¹, takes his literary
 name from Henri de Valois, a French scholar of the
 seventeenth century, who first introduced him to
 the modern world. According to an opinion now
 generally accepted, he is none other than that
 Maximian Bishop of Ravenna whose mosaic por-
 trait we still see on the walls of S. Vitale, where,
 arrayed in alb and pallium and with a jewelled
 cross in his hand, he consecrates the new church
 in the (imaginary) presence of Justinian and his
 Court. Whoever the writer be, he writes as an
 ecclesiastic and as an inhabitant of Ravenna. A
 vein of something like legendary adornment runs
 through his narrative, nor should we be justified in
 quoting him as an absolutely accurate witness for
 events, some of which may have happened twenty
 or thirty years before his birth, and the latest of
 which (as recorded by him) probably happened in

¹ See vol. ii. p. 487, and chapter vi. of this volume.

BOOK IV. his boyhood. But, as has been before hinted, there
 CH. 8. is every reason to think that for some of his names
 and dates he relies upon the absolutely contemporary but now perished 'Annals of Ravenna'; and on the whole, as historical authorities go, he is, notwithstanding his anonymousness, a very fair voucher for the truth of the facts which he records.

As the extract is not long, and is of considerable importance, it will be well to translate it entire:—

THE ANONYMUS VALESII ON THEODORIC.

Theodoric
king in
Ravenna.

'Now Theodoric had sent Faustus Niger on an embassy to Zeno. But as the news of that Emperor's death arrived before the return of the embassy, and as the entry into Ravenna and the death of Odoacer had intervened, the Goths confirmed Theodoric to themselves as king, without waiting for the orders of the new Emperor.

Theo-
doric's
pedigree,

'He was a man most brave and warlike, the natural son of Walamir² king of the Goths. His mother was called Ereliva³, a Gothic woman but a Catholic, who took at baptism the name Eusebia.

and cha-
racter.

'He was an illustrious man and full of good-will towards all. He reigned thirty-three years, and during thirty of those years so great was the happiness attained by Italy that even the wayfarers

¹ The 'Ravennatische Fasten' of the German scholars.

² This is the persistent error of the Byzantines, who never could be made to understand that he was the son of *Theudemir*.

³ Erelieva in Jordanes.

were at peace¹. For he did nothing wrong. Thus BOOK IV.
 did he govern the two nations, the Goths and CH. 8.
 Romans, as if they were one people, belonging him-
 self to the Arian sect, but arranging that the civil
 administration of the Romans should continue as it
 was under the Emperors². He gave presents and His admin-
istration.
 rations to the people, yet though he found the
 Treasury quite bankrupt³, by his own labour he
 brought it round into a flourishing condition.
 Nothing did he attempt against the Catholic faith.
 He exhibited games in the Circus and Amphi-
 theatre, so that he received from the Romans the
 titles Trajan and Valentinian (as he did in truth
 seek to bring back the prosperous times of those
 emperors); and on the other hand, the obedience
 rendered by the Goths to the *Edictum Theodorici*
 showed that they recognised its author as in all
 things their Mightiest⁴.

¹ 'Qui regnavit annos xxxiii. cujus temporibus felicitas est secuta Italiam per annos triginta,' etc. Perhaps the writer does not mean to contrast the thirty and the thirty-three years. If he does, he probably wishes to except the three years 523-526 during which Theodoric was oppressing the Catholics.

² 'Sic gubernavit duas gentes in uno Romanorum et Gothorum, dum ipse quidem Arrianae sectae esset, tamen militia [militiam] Romanis sicut sub principes esse praecepit.' It seems a bold thing to translate *militia* 'civil administration,' but the language of the Theodosian Code, of Cassiodorus, and of Lydus (*De Dignitatibus*) fully justifies us in doing so. It is impossible that the author can mean that the *army* was exactly what it had been under the Emperors.

³ 'Ex toto foeneum;' literally, 'stuffed with hay.'

⁴ 'Et a Gothis secundum edictum suum quem [quod] eis constituit, rex fortissimus in omnibus judicaretur.' The above translation, or rather paraphrase, of a very difficult passage, is,

BOOK IV.

CH. 8.

His say-
ings.

'Unlettered as he was, so great was his shrewdness that some of his sayings still pass current among the common folk, a few of which we may be allowed here to preserve.

'He said, "He who has gold and he who has a devil can neither of them hide what they have got."

'Also, "The Roman when in misery imitates the Goth, and the Goth when in comfort imitates the Roman¹."

The Judg-
ment of
Theodoric.

'A certain man dying left a wife and a little boy too young to know his mother. The child was taken away by a friend of the father's into another province, and there educated. Returning as a young man to his mother, he found that she had betrothed herself to a suitor. When however she saw her son she embraced him, and blessed God for restoring him to her: so he abode with her thirty days. At the end of that time her lover returns, sees the youth and asks "Who is this?" She replied, "My son." When he found that she had a son, he began to claim back again his earnest-money²,

it must be confessed, a very hazardous one. Dahn (Kön. der Germ. iv. 5) supposes a line to have got out of its place and reads, 'Ut etiam a Romanis Trajanus vel Valentinianus appellaretur, quorum tempora secundum edictum suum quem eis constituit, sectatus est et a Gothis rex fortissimus in omnibus judicaretur.' Yet even this makes a very flat ending.

¹ Item, 'Romanus miser imitatur Gothum, et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum.' The antithesis seems to require *utilis* instead of the better supported reading *vilis*.

² *Arrhae*. The suitor evidently wants the woman only for the sake of her property, which she cannot make over to him if she has a son.

and to say, "Either deny that this is your son, or else I go hence." Thus compelled by her lover, the woman began to deny the son whom she had previously owned, and ordered him out of the house as a stranger to her. He answered that he had returned, as he had a right to do, to his mother in the house of his father. Eventually the son appealed to the King against his mother, and the King ordered her to appear before him. "Woman!" said he, "thou hearest what this young man urges against thee. Is he thy son or no?" She answered, "He is not my son, but as a stranger did I entertain him." Then when the woman's son had told all his story in the King's Court, the King said to her again, "Is he thy son or no?" Again she said, "He is not my son." Said the King to her, "And what is the amount of thy possessions, woman?" She answered, "As much as 1000 solidi" [£600]. Then the King swore that nothing would satisfy him, unless the woman took *him* (the young man) for her husband instead of the suitor. With that the woman was struck with confusion, and confessed that he was indeed her son. And many more stories of the same kind are related of him.

'Afterwards he received from the Franks a wife named Augofleda²; for he had had a wife before

His royal
alliances.

¹ The King at this point suspects that there is some pecuniary reason for the woman's obstinate denial. Having satisfied himself on this point, he then, by an artifice not unlike the Judgment of Solomon, elicits the truth. See a similar story about Claudius in Suetonius, cap. xv.

² Audefleda (Jordanes); she was sister of Clovis.

BOOK IV. his accession to the throne who had borne him two
 CH. 8. daughters. One, named Arevagni¹, he gave in marriage to Alaric king of the Visigoths in Gaul, and the other, named Theodegotha, to Sigismund son of King Gundebaud [the Burgundian].

Peace with
 Anastasius.

‘Having made his peace with the Emperor Anastasius through the mediation of Festus for his unauthorised assumption of the royal title², [the Emperor] also restored to him all the ornaments of the palace which Odoachar had transmitted to Constantinople.

Contested
 election to
 the Papacy,
 498.

‘At the same time there arose a strife in the city of Rome between Symmachus and Laurentius, both of whom were consecrated [bishops]. By Divine ordering Symmachus, the worthier of the two, prevailed. After peace had been restored King Theodoric went to Rome, the Church’s capital³, and paid his devotions to the Blessed Peter as devoutly as any Catholic. To meet him, Pope Symmachus and all the Senate and people of Rome poured forth, with every mark of joy, outside the gates of the city. Then Theodoric entering the city came to the Senate, and at the Palma⁴ delivered an address to the people of Rome, promising that by God’s help he would keep inviolate all that the preceding Roman sovereigns had ordained.

Visit to
 Rome,
 500.

¹ Ostrogotho (Jordanes).

² ‘Facta pace de praesumptione regni.’

³ ‘Post factam pacem in urbem ecclesiae [?] ambulavit rex Theodericus Roman.’

⁴ Otherwise called ‘domus Palmata,’ probably between the Temple of Concord and the Arch of Severus (Gregorovius, i. 271).

'Celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of his accession¹ he entered the city in triumph, rode to the palace, and exhibited to the Romans the games of the Circus. He also gave to the Roman people and to the poor a yearly supply of grain to the amount of 120,000 modii [3750 quarters], and for the restoration of the palace or the repair of the walls of the city he ordered 200 lbs. [of gold = £8000] to be paid annually from the proceeds of the duty on wine².

BOOK IV.

CH. 8.

Largesse to the people.

Moreover, he gave his sister Amalafrigda in marriage to Transimund king of the Vandals.

His sister, Vandal queen.

'He made Liberius, whom in the beginning of his reign he had appointed Praetorian Prefect, Patrician, and gave him as his successor in the former office—[The name seems to have dropped out.]

Liberius Praetorian Prefect, 493-500.

Therefore Theodorus son of Basilius [and] Odoin his Count (?) conspired against him³. When he had discovered this plot he ordered his head to be cut off⁴ in the palace which is called "Ses-

Conspiracy of Odoin, 4 May, 500.

¹ 'Per tricennem triumphans populo ingressus palatium.' How are we to explain this passage? Is it the thirtieth anniversary of Theodoric's association with his father in the Gothic kingship that is here commemorated?

² 'De arca vinaria.'

³ This is all that we can make of the text as it stands. Possibly Theodorus was really the successor of Liberius, so that Odoin was the sole rebel. The word translated above 'conspired' (insidiabatur) is in the singular.

⁴ Compare Contin. Prosperi (M. S. Hafn.): 'Ceteo v. c. consule [504]: His consulibus Theudoricus rex Romam ingressus occidit Odomum comitem IIII. non. Mai.' Marius has, at the right year 500, 'Eo anno interfectus est Odoind Romae.' The chronology of Contin. Prosperi is very inaccurate just here.

BOOK IV. sorium¹." For (?) at the request of the people he directed that the words of the promise which he had made them in his popular harangue should be engraved on a brazen tablet and fixed in a place of public resort.

CH. 8.

His niece
queen of
the Thuringians.

'Then returning to Ravenna in the sixth month he gave Amalabirga his sister's daughter in marriage to Herminifrid king of the Thuringians. And thus he pleased all the nations round about him; for he was a lover of manufactures and a great restorer of cities.

Buildings
at Ravenna,

'He restored the aqueduct of Ravenna which Trajan had built, and after a long interval of time again introduced water into the city. He made the palace perfect, but did not dedicate it, and he finished the porticoes round the palace.

at Verona,

'Also at Verona he erected baths and a palace, and carried a portico from the gate to the palace. The aqueduct, which had been long destroyed, he renewed, and introduced water through it. Moreover he surrounded the city with new walls.

at Pavia.

'At Ticinum [Pavia] also he built a palace, baths, and an amphitheatre, and carried new walls round the city. On many other cities also he bestowed many benefits. Thus he so charmed the neighbouring nations that they came under a league with him, hoping that he would be their king.

¹ On the authority of a passage in Anastasius' *Lives of the Popes* (ap. Muratori, iii. 108), this Sessorian palace is fixed near the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, at the E. S. E. angle of the city. Its supposed remains, a large semicircular apse of brick with round-headed windows, are still visible.

The merchants too from divers provinces came flocking together to him, for so great was the order which he maintained, that, if any one wished to leave gold or silver on his land, it was deemed as safe as if within a walled city. An indication of this was the fact that throughout all Italy he never made gates for any city, and the gates that were in the cities were not closed. Any one who had any business to transact did it at any hour of the night as securely as in the day.

‘In his time men bought wheat at 60 modii for a solidus [about 12s. a quarter], and for 30 amphorae of wine they paid the same price [2s. 4d. per gallon].

* * * * *

‘Now King Theodoric was an unlettered man, and so unsuccessful as a student¹ that after ten years of reigning he was still utterly unable to learn the four letters of his own signature to one of his edicts [$\psi\iota\eta\alpha$, Thiud, if in Gothic, THEO if in Latin]. Wherefore he ordered a golden plate to be engraved, having the four letters of the royal name pierced through it, so that when he wished to sign any document he could place the plate upon the paper, and drawing his pen through the holes could give it the appearance of his own signature.

‘Then Theodoric, having conferred the honours

¹ ‘Sic obruto (or perhaps ‘obtus’) sensu.’ I strongly suspect that this paragraph was originally written concerning the Emperor Justin (of whom precisely the same story is told) and has been transferred to Theodoric by mistake. The paragraph immediately preceding refers to Byzantine affairs.

BOOK IV. of the consulship on [his son-in-law] Eutharic,
 CH. 8. triumphed at Rome and Ravenna. But this Eu-

Consulship
 of Eutharic
 his son-in-
 law,
 519.

Religious
 disturb-
 ances at
 Ravenna.

tharic was a man of very harsh disposition, and a bitter enemy of the Catholic faith.

‘After this, when Theodoric was staying at Verona through fear of hostile movements among the barbarians [north of the Alps¹], a strife arose between the Jews and Christians of the city of Ravenna. For the Jews, disliking those who were baptized, often by way of derision threw persons into the water of the river, and in the same way they made sport of the Lord’s Supper². Hereupon the people being inflamed with fury, and being quite past the control of the King, of Eutharic, and even of Peter who was then bishop, arose against the synagogues and soon burned them. Then the Jews rushed to Verona, where the King was, and by the agency of Triwan the Grand Chamberlain³, himself a heretic and a favourer of their nation, they got their case against the Christians presented to the King. He promptly ordered that, for their presumption in burning the synagogues, all the Roman population of Ravenna should pay a contribution sufficient to provide for their restoration; and those who had no money to pay were to be flogged through the

¹ ‘Propter metum gentium.’

² A conjectural translation of ‘Judaei baptizatos nolentes dum ludunt frequenter oblatam in aquam fluminis jactaverunt. . . . Quod et in cena eadem similiter contigit.’

³ ‘Praepositus Cubiculi.’ Possibly this is the ‘Trigguilla regiae praepositus domus’ who is vituperated by Boethius (Phil. Cons. i. 4).

streets of the city while the crier proclaimed their offence. Orders to this effect were given to Eutharic-Cilliga and to the Bishop Peter, and thus it was done.' BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

The 'Anonymus' then begins to narrate the story of the religious troubles and persecutions which clouded the last years of Theodoric, and which will be described in a later chapter.

Let us try to bring to a focus the somewhat confused and inartistic picture which is here drawn for us by the most valuable of all witnesses to character, an unfriendly contemporary.

Evidently there was peace and prosperity, at any rate comparative prosperity, throughout Italy in the reign of Theodoric. Absolute freedom from hostile invasion—except, as we shall see, some trifling ravages of the Byzantines in Apulia—was a great thing; a thing to which Italy may almost be said to have been a stranger during the ninety years that had elapsed, since the clarions of Alaric first sounded in the plains of Pollentia. But yet more important for Italy, in her then condition, was the presence in the royal palace of a strong will, wielding irresistible power and guided by benevolence towards all classes of the people. Long enough had the name and the reality of power been disjoined the one from the other. Long enough had flatterers and rhetoricians pretended to worship the almost divine majesty of the Emperor, while every one knew that in reality some menacing barbarian freebooter, or some yet more intolerable

Strength of
Theodoric's
position.

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

barbarian life-guardsman, was master of the situation. Now, the man who was hailed as king was once more in truth a king of men. *He* knew, every Goth in his disbanded army, every Roman possessor in the most secluded valleys of the Appennines, knew, that Theodoric was and would be undisputed master. He could be terrible to all extortionate and unjust governors, because behind him there loomed no figure greater than his own; he could be just, because the welfare of his subjects was in truth his own highest interest; he could be gentle, because he was irresistible.

The same picture of firm and just rule is brought before us by a few sentences of Procopius, who again, as a man employed in the Byzantine army, may be considered as a witness unfriendly to the Gothic rule.

Testimony
 of Proco-
 pius.

'Theodoric,' says he¹, 'was an extraordinary lover of justice, and adhered rigorously to the laws. He guarded the country from barbarian invasion, and displayed both intelligence and prudence in the highest degree. Of injustice towards his subjects there was hardly a trace in his government, nor would he allow any of his subordinates to attempt anything of the kind, save only that the Goths divided among themselves the same proportion of the land of Italy which Odoacer had given to his partisans. *So then Theodoric was in name a tyrant, but in deed a true king, not inferior to the best of his predecessors*, and his popularity grew

¹ De Bello Gothico, i. 1.

greatly, contrary to the ordinary fashion of human affairs, both among Goths and Italians. For generally, as different classes in the State want different things, the government which pleases one party, has to incur the odium of those who do not belong to it.

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

'After a reign of thirty-seven years he died, having been a terror to all his enemies, and left a deep regret for his loss in the hearts of his subjects.'

The fact that such results were achieved by an unlettered chieftain, the scion of an only half-civilised German tribe, must be accounted a signal victory of human intelligence and self-restraint, and justifies, if anything can justify, the tight rein which, while curbing himself, he kept upon the old Teutonic freedom. Obviously however, with the best good-will on the part of the King, these results could not have been obtained in detail unless he had been well served by ministers—from the necessity of the case chiefly Roman ministers—like-minded with himself. To these men, the Sullys and the Colberts of the Gothic King, let us now turn our attention.

Who were
Theodoric's
ministers?

The first man who served as Prætorian Prefect under Theodoric, holding that great office for the first seven years of his reign, was *Liberius*. This man—who was of course Roman, not Teutonic, by origin—had occupied an important place among the ministers of Odovacar¹. Unlike the treacherous Tufa, he remained faithful to the last to his

Liberius,
493-500.

¹ Our knowledge of the career of Liberius is derived from Var. ii. 16, written on the promotion of his son.

Theodoric and his Court.

BOOK IV. barbarian chief, and took an active part in directing the operations against Theodoric¹. On the downfall of his old patron, he showed no unmanly fear as to his own fortunes, no servile haste to propitiate the new lord of Italy, but, with calm sadness, intimated that he accepted the judgment of Heaven, and since he could no longer be loyal to Odovacar, he was willing to serve with equal loyalty that monarch's conqueror. Theodoric was wise enough to accept the proffered service, and, as we have seen, to confer upon the true-hearted Roman the still vast powers of the Prætorian Prefect.

No details
of his ad-
ministra-
tion.

Unhappily these seven first years of the reign of Theodoric—perhaps its most interesting portion—are an almost absolute blank. Liberius left no such copious record of official work behind him as was left by the fluent Cassiodorus. But we are informed incidentally that one of the chief cares of the new ministry was, as we might have expected, finance. He introduced a wise economy into every department of the State, and while the Exchequer found itself every year in a more flourishing condition, the tax-payer was conscious that, at any rate, there was no addition to his previous burdens. It seems probable that some, at least, of that praise which arose from a prosperous and contented Italy should be attributed to these early measures of Liberius.

. ¹ 'Contra quos [Theodoricum sc.] multa fecisse videbatur inimicus.'

One work of great delicacy and importance, which was successfully performed by him, was the assignment of the Tertiae, or third part of the soil of Italy, to the new-comers. Broadly, as has been already said, the new land-settlement was probably a transfer of these Land-thirds from the men of Odovacar to the men of Theodoric. But there may have been reasons, unknown to us, which prevented this from being the sole principle of distribution, and which obliged the commission, of which Liberius was the head, to proceed in many instances to a new division as between Roman and Goth. Here we are told he showed great tact and skill, settling neighbour by neighbour in such a way that not rivalry but friendship sprang out of their new relation, introducing probably the Gothic settlers chiefly into those parts of the country where the land really cried out for more numerous cultivators, and ever impressing upon his Roman countrymen the great principle of the new government, that the Goth was there for the defence of the whole land, and that, by sacrificing one-third, the Roman cultivator might reckon on enjoying the remaining two-thirds in security¹.

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.
Apportion-
ment of
lands
(Tertiarum
distributio).

¹ 'Juvat nos referre quemadmodum in tertiarum deputatione, Gothorum Romanorumque et possessiones junxerit et animos. Nam, cum se homines soleant de vicinitate collidere, istis praediorum communio causam noscitur praestitisse concordiae. Sic enim contigit ut utraque natio, dum communiter vivit, ad unum velle convenerit. En factum novum et omnino laudabile. Gratia dominorum de cespitis divisione conjuncta est. Amici-

BOOK IV. It was probably through the hands of Liberius
CH. II. that the tedious negotiations with Byzantium

497. passed, those negotiations which ended at length in the recognition of Theodoric as legitimate ruler of Italy. The chief persons employed in these negotiations were *Faustus* and *Festus*, two Roman noblemen of about equal rank, and whom it is not easy to distinguish from one another.

Faustus. *Faustus* was a successor, though not the immediate successor, of Liberius in the office of *Prætorian*

Festus. *Prefect*¹; and *Festus*, who was dignified with the high title of *Patrician*, was apparently at about the same time *Prefect of the City*². It may be useful, as a note of distinction between them, to observe that *Faustus* was the unsuccessful ambassador to Constantinople in 493, *Festus* the successful one in 497. Further, that while *Faustus*, in the disputed Papal election of 498³, took the part of the ultimately successful candidate, Pope *Symmachus*, *Festus*, who desired to

tiae populis per damna crevere: et ex parte agri defensor acquisitus est, ut substantiae securitas integra servaretur. Una lex illos et aequabilis disciplina complectitur. Necesse est enim, ut inter eos suavis crescat affectus qui servant jugiter terminos constitutos (Cass. Var. ii. 16).

¹ I conjecture that *Faustus* succeeded *Cassiodorus* the elder as '*Praefectus Praetorio*' about 504, and held the office till about 508, but the want of strict chronological arrangement in the *Variae* makes it difficult to come to any precise conclusion.

² He is not thus addressed in the titles of the letters in the *Variae*, but the subjects of those letters seem to show that this was his office.

³ To be described in chapter xi.

obtain a pontiff favourable to the Henoticon of Zeno, sided with the Anti-Pope Laurentius. BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

It was in one of the lucid intervals of this prolonged struggle for the chief place in the Roman Church that Theodoric visited the ancient capital of the Empire. 'Murders, robberies and infinite evils' had afflicted the citizens of Rome, and even the nuns had been cruelly maltreated in this street warfare, which was to decide whether Symmachus or Laurentius was henceforward to have the power of binding and loosing in the kingdom of heaven. But, as has been said, there was a lull in the storm, during which the Ostrogothic King wisely determined to visit the city. Constantinople, the New Rome by the Bosphorus, he had gazed upon near forty years before with eyes of boyish wonder. Now he was to see for himself the mysterious and venerable city by the Tiber; that city which had so long cast her spell upon his people, but of which he, a barbarian from the Danube, was now unquestioned lord. Having knelt devoutly at the shrine of St. Peter, in the long pillar-lined basilica (so unlike its modern representative) reared amid the gardens of Nero, he was met outside the gates of the city by the procession of Pope, senators and people, who, with shouts of loyal welcome, pressed forth to greet him. Then came, as the Anonymus Valesii has told us, the speech in the Forum, the games in the Circus, probably also in the Colosseum, and the solemn renewal of the grain largesse to the Roman populace, which had

Theodoric's
visit to
Rome,
500.

BOOK IV. perhaps been interrupted since the days of Odo-
 CH. 8. vacar.

500.
 Was the
 Edictum
 promul-
 gated at
 this time?

It seems probable that this may have been the occasion chosen by the King and his enlightened minister for the formal publication of the *Edictum Theodorici*. It is true that the somewhat obscure language of the Anonymus Valesii does not prove, as was once supposed, that it was promulgated at this time. The solemn privilegium, to which he refers, engraved on a brazen tablet and posted in the Forum, was quite a different document, and little more than a promise to observe the laws of his predecessors, such a promise as William the Norman gave to govern according to the laws of King Edward. But there is a certain amount of concurrent testimony in favour of this date, and no valid argument against it. Upon the whole, it may fairly be stated as a probable conjecture, though not an ascertained fact, that Theodoric's visit to Rome was the occasion of the publication of the Edict, and that Liberius was its author.

Roman
 character
 of the Edic-
 tum.

This Edict, of which a slight sketch is given in the note at the end of this chapter, is (as was stated in the last chapter) utterly unlike the codes which formulated the laws of the other barbarian monarchies. There is hardly a trace in it of German law or German ideas: it is Roman and imperial throughout. We may remember how Sidonius¹ complained of a certain renegade Roman

¹ ii. 1: 'Leges Theodosianas calcans, Theodoricianasque proponens.'

governor, as 'trampling under foot the laws of Theodosius and setting forth the laws of Theodoric.' BOOK IV.
CH. 8.
500.
But here it is a German, a Theodoric himself, who, wisely no doubt for the most part, and with statesmanlike insight into the necessities of the case, treads the laws of his Amal forefathers in the dust and exalts on high the laws of Theodosius.

It may have been—though there is nothing but one darkly enigmatic sentence in the Anonymus to confirm the conjecture—the publication of this obviously Romanising edict, and the evident desire of Theodoric to draw as close as possible to his Roman subjects, which brought the Gothic disaffection to a head. Odoin, a barbarian Count¹, planned a conspiracy against his lord. We have no details of the plot or of its discovery. We only know that it failed, and that in the Sessorian Palace, just within the southern wall of Rome (hard by the Basilica della Croce, where rests Helena, mother of Constantine and discoverer of the Holy Cross), the treacherous Goth knelt down to receive the blow of the executioner, and the headless trunk of Odoin showed to all the world that the mild and righteous Theodoric could also be terrible to evil-doers.

It may have been during this tarriance at

¹ Possibly assisted by Theodorus, son of Basilius, a Roman, and perhaps a disappointed candidate for the prefecture. But, as has been said, from the appearance of the passage it seems more likely that Odoin was sole conspirator.

BOOK IV. Rome that Theodoric commenced his great works
CH. 8. of draining the Pontine Marshes and repairing
500. the Appian Way, works commemorated in an in-
Draining scription still preserved in the Piazza at Terracina¹.
of the At the last-named place, situated about sixty miles
Pontine from Rome, where a spur of the Volscian mountains
Marshes. juts out into the blue Tyrrhene Sea, stand yet on
'Palazzo di the brow of the hill the massive ruins of the so-
Teodorico' called Palace of Theodoric. It may be doubtful
at Terra- how far this name is correctly given to them:
cina. but if the great Ostrogoth ever did dwell here,
and look forth from these windows over the sea,
which his wise rule was covering with the white-
winged messengers of commerce, and over the
plain where the peaceful army of his labourers was
turning the wilderness of the Pontine Marshes
into a fruitful field, it was probably during this
visit to Rome, in some weeks of *villeggiatura*, away
from the sun-baked capital, that he thus sojourned
at Terracina.

Repairs of
walls of
Rome.

We see, from the statement of the Anonymus
Valesii, that it was also during the King's resi-
dence in Rome that he took in hand the repair
of the walls and of the imperial residence on the
Palatine. So large a sum as £8000, spent yearly
on these objects, would make a marked difference
in the condition of both sets of buildings. We
learn, from a letter of Cassiodorus (i. 25), that
25,000 *tegulae*—the square flat bricks which the
antiquary knows so well—were used yearly in

¹ See Note F.

the restoration of the walls. We may well wonder, not that some tiles have been discovered bearing the name and titles of 'Our Lord Theodoric, the benefactor of Rome,' but that the number of these is not much larger¹.

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.
—
500.

Upon the whole we may probably conclude that this Roman visit, which lasted for six months, was one of the happiest periods in the life of Theodoric. There was peace abroad and at home. The barbarian stranger had borne the ordeal of an entry into the fastidious city by the Tiber, once the capital of the world, successfully, though it was an ordeal before which born Romans, like Constantius and Honorius, had well-nigh quailed. He had addressed the people in the Forum, he had shared the deliberations of the Conscript Fathers in the Senate House, and it seems safe to say that he had produced a favourable impression upon both assemblies. As he journeyed along the Flaminian Way to his chosen home by the Hadriatic, he felt himself more firmly settled in his seat, more thoroughly king of all the Italians as well as of all the Goths, than he had done before. The

¹ According to Fabretti (*Inscriptiones Antiquae*, p. 521) many tiles and stones have been found with the inscription—

REG DN THEODE
RICO FELIX ROMA

or—

✠ REG DN THEODE
✠ RICO BONO ROMAE.

Gregorovius (*Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, i. 294) says that Henzen in the forthcoming volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* will catalogue only twelve such tiles.

BOOK IV. headless corpse of Odoin was well atoned for by
 CH. 8. the remembrance of the enthusiastic shouts, both
 500. of welcome and farewell, of the Roman people.

Liberius During this sojourn in Rome, Liberius, who
 ceases to be Prefect. was now probably a man advanced in years,
 was honourably dismissed from the laborious
 though dignified post of Prætorian Prefect, and
 received the rank of Patrician, which was gene-
 rally conferred on those who were retiring from
 this office with the favour of their sovereign.

Cassio- His successor as Prætorian Prefect, though per-
 dorus the elder takes the office. haps not his immediate successor¹, was Cassiodorus,
 father of the writer so often named in this history.
 And here, in order to disentangle a needlessly
 complicated discussion, a few sentences must be
 devoted to the Cassiodorian pedigree.

Ancestors From a sketch of the history of his ancestors,
 of the author. which Cassiodorus² (the author) included in the

¹ If, that is to say, my conjecture be correct that Theodorus, the son of Basilius, really followed Liberius.

Spelling of ² German scholars are now nearly unanimous in spelling the
 the name, name Cassiodorius. There is MS. authority for both forms of the
 Cassiodo- name, but it is argued with some force that, though it is easy
 rus or Cas- to understand how *rus* could arise from the ignorance of tran-
 siodorus! scribers, who met with the genitive *ri*, and did not know that
 that was a proper inflection of *rius*, it is not easy to see how the
 contrary change could have taken place and *rius* have arisen from
rus. On the other hand, it is clear that the classical form of the
 name was Cassiodorus. In the Corpus Inscriptionum Græca-
 rum, No. 2322 b³³ (vol. ii. p. 1044), is the sepulchral inscription
 (found at the island of Rhenea, close to Delos) of a woman who
 was 'a Roman citizen and sister of Q. Acilius (?) Casiodorus'
 ('Ρωμαία, ἀδελφή δὲ Κούτρου Ἀκειλίου Κασσιόδωρου). No. 4466 (vol.
 iv. p. 218) is from Antioch, an inscription on the tomb of a

official letter announcing to the Senate his father's elevation to the Patriciate¹, we learn that, for at least three generations the family had taken an active part in public life.

The *first* Cassiodorus who is here mentioned attained to the rank of an Illustis, and held a leading position in the province of Bruttii, which, with the neighbouring island of Sicily, he defended, apparently with a troop raised at his own cost, from an invasion of the Vandals. This may very probably have occurred in the year 440, when, as we learn from the Chronicle of his descendant, 'Gaiseric sorely afflicted Sicily².'

His son, the *second* Cassiodorus, was a Tribune (or, as we should say, Colonel) in the army of Valentinian III, and a *Notarius* in the secret cabinet of the Emperor. In both capacities he seems to have attached himself zealously to the party of the brave and statesmanlike Aetius, the man to whom all true Roman hearts then turned

certain Cassiodorus who died at the age of twenty-four, leaving an infant daughter one year old. The important line runs, *Εἰκοσι τέσσαρ' ἔχων Κασσιόδωρος ἔτη*. There is no inscription with the form *rius*. Further, it appears from a verse of Alcuin's that Cassiodorus was the accepted form in the eighth century—

'Cassiodorus item Chrysostomus atque Johannes.'

It seems therefore undesirable to abandon the spelling which is most usual with English scholars. (The above quotation from Alcuin is from the *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, p. 843 of 2nd volume in Migne's edition of his works, and is borrowed by me from A. Franz.)

¹ Cassiodori Variarum, i. 4 (see also 3).

² 'His consulibus Gaisericus Siciliam graviter affigit.'

BOOK IV. with longing. In company with the hero's son
 CH. 8. Carpilio he went on an embassy to the court of
 440-450. Attila, one doubtless of the innumerable embas-
 sies with which the Emperor sought to soothe the
 anger of the terrible Hun in the years between
 440 and 450¹. According to his descendant, Cas-
 siodorus exercised, over the quarrelsome Mongol,
 something of the same magnetic influence that was
 afterwards obtained by Pope Leo. He dared to
 meet the omnipotent victor in argument ; he calmly
 braved his wrath ; he convinced him of the reason-
 ableness of the Roman demands ; he inspired him
 with respect for the State which could still send
 forth such ambassadors : finally, he brought back
 with him the peace which was well-nigh despaired
 of. We are not bound to believe all this highly-
 coloured picture, which seems to be at least sug-
 gested by the embassy of Leo, perhaps simply
 adapted from that well-known scene. But we
 may fairly presume that his conduct earned the
 approbation of his superiors, since Aetius offered
 him the rank of an *Illustris*, and some charge upon
 the public revenues, if he would remain at court².
 Cassiodorus, however, preferred returning to his
 beloved *Bruttii*, and there, under the shadow of

¹ See vol. ii. p. 175, n. 1, and correct there the word 'father' in the second line to 'grandfather.'

² 'Mox honore [honorem] illustratus, mox reddituum dona aequus arbiter offerebat.' A very obscure sentence. Is it possible that for 'aequus' we should read 'Aetius' ? It looks as if the offer were of the *Comitiva Sacrarum Largitionum*, but it is hard to make this out of the words.

the purple hills of Calabria, ended his days in quietness, undisturbed apparently by the ruins of the falling Empire. BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

His son, the *third* Cassiodorus, entered more boldly into public life. When still a young man he discharged the duties of *Comes Privatarum Rerum* and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* (the two offices which represent the duties of our Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and Chancellor of the Exchequer), and in both capacities he earned the good opinion alike of his own countrymen and of his barbarian master Odovacar. Cassiodorus III serves Odovacar,

In the struggle between Rugian and Ostrogoth he seems not to have taken a part, but, as soon as Theodoric's throne was set up at Ravenna, he at once offered his services to the new monarch, and they were gladly accepted. and then Theodoric. The inhabitants of Sicily, who looked upon the Gothic rule with doubt and suspicion, were won over by their neighbour to the side which he had made his own; and, on the other hand, his wise and soothing words restrained Theodoric from the revenge to which some hostile acts of the Sicilians might otherwise have impelled him¹. For these services he had been rewarded with the post of *Corrector* of Lucania and Bruttii, chief governor, that is to say, of his own native province². He had large herds

¹ 'Siculorum suspicantium mentes ab obstinatione praecepti deviasti, culpam removens illis, nobis necessitatem subtrahens ultimis.' This passage occurs in Var. i. 3, from which most of this part of my sketch is taken.

² 'Bruttiorum et Lucaniae tibi dedimus mores regendos'

BOOK IV. of horses on his estates—the Calabria of that day
 CH. 8. by the dense shade of its forests afforded great
 advantages to the horse-breeder—and out of these
 he made such generous presents to Theodoric that
 his son in later years, speaking by the mouth of
 the King, said (no doubt hyperbolically), ‘he has
 mounted our whole army’¹.

Prætorian
 Prefect
 (between
 500 and
 504²).

This was the man who, having passed through all the lower ranks of the official service with credit and success, was now, in the first or second year of the sixth century, raised to the high honour of *Praefectus Prætorio*; an honour which had been already held for the extraordinary term of eighteen years by his kinsman Heliodorus, at Constantinople³, when Theodoric himself was a guest of the Eastern Emperor. His own tenure of office was not long³—we may conjecture it to have ended by the year 504—nor, except from the general terms of laudation in which it is

(Var. i. 3). Is there not in this phrase an allusion to the title Corrector, which (instead of Consularis) denoted the governor of this province?

¹ ‘Hinc est quod candidatus noster Gothorum semper armat exercitus.’ Compare Var. viii. 31 for the horse-breeding of Bruttii.

² Var. i. 4: ‘Hi autem et in partibus Orientis parentum laude viguerunt. Heliodorus enim, qui in illa republica nobis videntibus praefecturam bis novenis annis gessit eximie, eorum consanguinitati probatur adjungi.’ Beyond the words ‘nobis videntibus,’ which fix Heliodorus’s prefecture to a date between 462 and 488, we seem to have no precise indication of the time.

³ I infer this from the fact that we have no letters of Cassiodorus Senator addressed to his father as Prætorian Prefect.

referred to by his son¹, have we any information respecting it. We are fairly entitled to infer that he carried forward the policy of mild firmness and equal justice to both nations, which had been inaugurated by Theodoric and Liberius, and that his short administration contributed its share to the peaceful happiness of Italy.

Its chief event however, and that which has made it worth while to dwell upon the family honours in so much detail, was the fact that it introduced his son to the notice of Theodoric, and was the means of starting that son on an official career which lasted for nearly forty years, and will for ever connect his name beyond any other name in literature with the varying fortunes of the Ostrogothic monarchy.

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, the fourth of the family whose fortunes we have to trace, was born at Squillace in Calabria about the year 480².

¹ 'Meministis enim, et adhuc vobis recentium rerum memoria ministratur, qua moderatione prætoriano culmini locatus insederit, et evectus in excelsum, inde magis despexerit vitia prospectorum. . . Junxit bene cum universorum gaudiis nostra compendia, aerario munificus et juste solventibus gratosus. . . Fuit itaque, ut scitis, militibus verendus, provincialibus mitis, dandi avidus, accipiendi fastidiosus, detestator criminis, amator æquitatis,' and so on.

² This date, at any rate as an approximation, may now, especially since the appearance of Usener's monograph, be considered definitely established. With the disentanglement of the lives of Senator and his father, all inducement to put back the birth of the former to 467, or thereabouts, vanishes, and Tritheim's notice, 'Claruit temporibus Justini Senioris usque ad imperii Justini junioris paene finem, annos habens ætatis

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

Cass'o-
dorus III
is the
means of
bringing
forward his
son,

Cassiodo-
rus IV
(Senator).

Theodoric and his Court.

BOOK

—

His birth-
place,
Squillace.

It was a memorable one, since it witnessed
the death of three of the foremost men of their age
— Cassiodorus, Boethius, and Benedict, the politi-
cian, the philosopher, and the saint. The place—
as it may be sketched for us by the loving hand of the
last of its sons¹ :—

Scyllacium, the first city of Bruttii, founded by
the hero who smites the overthrower of Troy, is a city over-
looking the Hadriatic Sea [more strictly the Gulf of
Tarentum], and hangs upon the hills like a cluster
of grapes; hills which are not so high as to make
the ascent of them a weariness, but high enough to
give a delicious prospect over the verdant plains
and the deep blue back of the sea². This city sees
the rising sun from its very cradle. The coming day
sends forward no Aurora as herald of its approach,
but with one burst uplifts its torch, and lo! the
brightness quivers over land and sea³. It beholds
the rejoicing Sun-god, and so basks in his bright-
ness all the day, that with good reason it might
challenge the claims of Rhodes to represent itself
as his birthplace. Its sky is clear, its climate
temperate. Sunny in winter, it yet enjoys cool
summers, and this moderation reflects itself in the
plusquam 95 A.D. 575,' becomes so probable that we cannot
reject it, though it remains a mystery whence he obtained this
information.

¹ The following extract is from *Variarum*, xii. 15.

² No doubt Cassiodorus was thinking of Homer's

Εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.

³ Just in the moment of dawn it was my fortune to see
Squillace, perched upon its conical hill, after a long night-
journey from Naples in the spring of 1882.

character of its inhabitants. For a burning hot country makes its children sharp and fickle, a cold one heavy and cunning; the best characters are produced by a more temperate clime.

‘Scyllacium has an abundant share of the delicacies of the sea, possessing near it those Neptunian doors which we ourselves constructed¹. At the foot of Mount Moscius we hewed out a space in the bowels of the rocks, into which we caused the streams of Nereus to flow. The sight of the fishes sporting in their free captivity delights all beholders. There man feeds the creatures on which he himself will shortly feed; they swim eagerly to take the morsels from his hand: sometimes, when he has fished to satiety, he sends them all back into the water².

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.
The Vivarium.

‘Fair is it to see the labours of the husbandmen all round while tranquilly reposing in the city. Here are the cluster-drooping vineyards, there the prosperous toil of the threshing-floor, there the dusky olive shows her face. Thus, as Scyllacium is an unwallèd town, you might at choice call it a rural city or an urban farm³; and, partaking of both characters, its praises have been sounded far and wide⁴.’

¹ The Vivaria or salt-water fish ponds, from which the monastery of Cassiodorus derived its name Vivariense.

² A conjectural translation of ‘Dum habet in potestatem quod capiat, frequenter evenit ut repletus omnia derelinquat.’

³ ‘Hoc quia modo non habet muros, civitatem credis ruralem, villam judicare possis urbanam.’

⁴ Too widely in fact for the inhabitants, whose forced labour

BOOK IV. Such was Scyllacium¹ and such Bruttii in
CH. 8. the days of Theodoric's minister. It may be

Modern as-
 pect of the
 place.

feared that a modern traveller would not find all the delights in the modern Squillace and the modern Calabria which then existed, still less that delicate and lovely civilisation which ten centuries before had tinged every shore and headland of 'the Greater Greece.' Still, as then, the purple chain of Aspromonte divides the sparkling waters of the Eastern and the Western seas. Still do cities, beautiful at a distance, crown the finely-modelled hills that project into the plain. But the temple, with its pure white marble columns, has disappeared: a squalid *comune* replaces the Greek republic, instinct with life and intelligence, or the well-ordered Roman *civitas*. Instead of the white-robed Hellenes, wild-looking peasants, clad in goat-skins, with their guns in their hands, slouch along through the cactus-bordered ways. The Saracen, the Spaniard, and the Bourbon have laid their heavy hands on the lovely region and brutalised its inhabitants. May better days be in store for it and for them in the Italy of the future²!

in providing post-horses for official visitors was the grievance which called forth this letter from Cassiodorus.

¹ There is an admirable sketch of Scyllacium in Lenormant's 'La Grande Grèce' (Paris, 1881). It is melancholy to reflect that this charming book cost the accomplished author his life. He never recovered from the effects of an attack of fever which seized him during his Calabrian journey.

² Even the climate of Calabria would seem to have changed for the worse, probably owing to the destruction of the forests, since Cassiodorus found it '*aeris dotatione temperata.*' The

The son who was born to Odovacar's minister at Squillace was named, as we have seen, Senator. It seems a strange thing to give a title like this as a personal name ; but there is no doubt that it was done in this case. Cassiodorus speaks of himself as Senator, and is so addressed by others¹. His letters are written by 'Senator, a man of illustrious rank ;' and in his Chronicle, when he has to record his own consulship (A.D. 514), his entry is 'Senatore, viro clarissimo consule.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

Name of
Cassiodo-
rus Sena-
tor.

It is evident that the young Senator received the best education that Italy could furnish in his day, and imbibed with enthusiasm all that the rhetoricians and grammarians who conducted it could impart to so promising a pupil. All through life he was essentially a literary man. We may perhaps in this aspect compare him to Guizot, a man of letters who rose to be first minister of a mighty monarchy, but whose heart was always given to the studies which engrossed him, when still a professor in the University of Paris. There are some indications in Cassiodorus' works that, next to Rhetoric, next to the mere delight of stringing words together in sonorous sentences, Natural History had the highest place in his affections. He never misses an opportunity of pointing a moral

His educa-
tion.

country now has a parched and desolate appearance. Very recently a murderous quarrel in some Italian barracks arose out of the contemptuous expression of a northern soldier, 'What can you find to do in that sun-baked Calabria?'

¹ He is called Senator by Jordanes, and by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his life of Pope Hormisdas.

BOOK IV. lesson by an allusion to the animal creation, es-
 CH. 8. pecially to the habits of birds. Of course most of the stories which he thus introduces are mere imaginations, and often of a very laughable kind; but, had he fallen on a happier and more scientific age, it is reasonable to think that there might have been found in him some of the qualities of a Buffon or an Audubon.

His entry
into public
life.

It seems probable that, immediately on the elder Cassiodorus receiving the post of Prætorian Prefect, Senator, still quite a young man, obtained an appointment as his *Consiliarius*, or legal assessor, a post generally filled by young men with some legal training,—we shall find Procopius holding it in the tent of Belisarius,—and one which no doubt gave valuable experience to any man who hoped some day to sit himself on the judgment-seat¹.

His great
speech

It was while he was thus acting as *Consiliarius* to his father that he pronounced in presence of Theodoric an oration in his praise, which by its eloquence so delighted the King that he appointed him, still quite a young man, to the office of Quæstor², which brought with it what we should call cabinet-rank. The rank of *Illustris* gave him the privilege of sharing the secret and friendly conversation of the monarch, and entitled him to pronounce in his

brings him
the Quæstorship.

¹ I do not understand why the word *consiliarius* does not occur in the elaborate *Notitia Dignitatum*, unless perhaps it is a general word to denote all the members of the Prefect's 'Officium,' from the *Principes* to the *Singularii*.

² The authority for this statement is the '*Anecdoton Holderi*,' edited by Usener.

master's name solemn harangues to the ambassadors of foreign nations, to the Senate, sometimes perhaps to the citizens and the army. Allusion has already been made¹ to the spirit in which Theodoric probably regarded the necessary labour of translating his own weighty, sledge-hammer sentences into the tumid Latin of the Lower Empire. But, however Theodoric may have regarded that work, there can be no doubt that Cassiodorus thoroughly enjoyed it. To have the charge of the correspondence of so great a king, to address to the officials of Italy, or even to the Sacred Majesty of Byzantium, a series of flowing sentences interspersed with philosophical reflections, excellent if not new, and occasionally to illustrate one's subject with a 'delicious digression'² on the habits of birds, the nature of the chameleon, the invention of letters, or the fountain of Arethusa,—this was happiness indeed; and, though the *emolumenta* of the office were large, one may believe that Cassiodorus would have been willing to pay, instead of receiving them, for the privilege of doing the very work which was more to his liking than that done by any other Italian between the mountains and the sea³.

¹ See preceding chapter.

² 'Voluptuosa digressio.'

³ For further information as to the twelve books of Various Letters of Cassiodorus, I must refer my readers to my Abstract of them published at the same time as this volume. Finding it impossible to draw all the manifold details furnished us in these letters into one harmonious picture, I have thought it best to let the collection speak for itself, and invite the student

BOOK IV. Cassiodorus has been aptly likened¹ to one of
CH. 8. the *improvisatori* of modern Italy. The *Variae*
His faults as a writer. 'are State papers put into the hands of an *improvisatore* to throw into form, and composed with his luxuriant verbiage, and also with his coarse taste. The shortest instructions begin with an aphorism or an epigram. If they are more important or lengthy, they sparkle and flash with conceits or antitheses, and every scrap of learning, every bit of science or natural history, every far-fetched coincidence which may start up in the writer's memory, however remote in its bearing on the subject, is dragged in to exalt or illustrate it, though the subject itself may be of the plainest and most matter-of-fact kind. You read (with the help of a full Index) to pick out the letters on those subjects in which he is most interested. Some points of Theodoric's state-system are discussed in the Abstract at greater length than was possible in this history.

Without going here into a discussion as to the chronology, it may be stated that the collection (which is not arranged in strict order of time) begins about 504 (certainly not earlier than 501), and ends not later than 540, probably a year or two earlier. The first five books contain letters written in the name of Theodoric; the sixth and seventh, the *Formulae* of admission to various dignities; the eighth and ninth, letters written in the name of Athalaric; the tenth, in the names of Amalasuntha, Theodahad and his wife, and Witigis. The eleventh and twelfth are entirely composed of the letters of Cassiodorus himself, when holding the office of Prætorian Prefect.

Twelve was a favourite number with Senator. His Gothic History, his History of the Church, and his collection of letters (*Variarum*) are all arranged in twelve books.

¹ By the author of an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* (July 1880); I believe Dean Church.

through a number of elaborate sentences, often BOOK IV.
 tumid and pompous, sometimes felicitous and CH. 8.
 pointed, but all of the most general and abstract
 sort; and nestling in the thick of them, towards
 the end of the letter or paper, you come upon the
 order, or instruction, or notification, for which the
 letter or paper is written, almost smothered and
 lost in the abundance of ornament round it.'

Yet let us not be unjust to the rhetorician-states- His merits
as a states-
man.
 man. We can all see, and seeing must smile at,
 the literary vanity which peeps out from every
 page of his letters. All who consult those letters
 for historical facts must groan over the intolerable
 verbosity of his style, and must sometimes wish
 that they could have access to the rough, strong
 sentences of the Gothic King, instead of the wide
 expanse of verbiage into which his secretary has
 diluted them. Yet literary vanity was by no
 means the only motive of his service. Like his
 father, and like Liberius, he had perceived that
 this so-called barbarian was the best and wisest
 ruler that Italy had had for centuries, and that the
 course of true civilisation could be best served by
 helping him to work out his own scheme of a State,
 defended by German arms but administered by
 Roman brains. Perhaps too he saw, what we can
 see so plainly, the heavy price which Italy as a
 land had paid for Rome's dominion over the world.
 The desert expanse of the Campagna, though

'A less drear ruin than now,'

may have spoken to him, as it does to us, of the

BOOK IV. disastrous change since the days when Rome was

CH. 8.

a little town and those plains were covered with the farms of industrious and happy husbandmen. Above all, as the instincts of a true statesman may have showed him, a return, at that time of day, to the imperial order of things meant dependence on the Eastern Emperor, on grasping, grovelling, eunuch-governed Byzantium. 'Let the old Roman Empire go, and let Italy live: and if she is to live, none so fit to guide her destinies as Theodoric.' It would be unsafe to assert that this thought, thus definitely expressed, found an entrance to the mind of Cassiodorus or any other patriotic Roman of the sixth century. But it was the limit towards which many thoughts were tending (ignorant, as ours are, of the future that is before us but conscious that some bit of the past has to be put away); and the subsequent history of Italy, traced in characters of blood from Belisarius to Barbarossa, showed how well it had been for her if that idea, of dissevering her from the wreck of the ruined Empire, might but have been realised.

Cassiodorus' History of the Goths.

cir. 520.

It was with this hope doubtless, of reconciling the proud and sensitive Roman to the hegemony of the sturdy Goth, that Cassiodorus, near the middle of his official life¹, composed in twelve books that

¹ Köpke thinks that Cassiodorus brought down his Gothic History to the death of Athalaric (534). But Usener is, I think, right in maintaining that Variarum (ix. 25) implies that it was finished before the death of Theodoric (526). On the authority of the newly-discovered fragment (*Anecdoton Holderi*) he assigns its composition to the period between 518 and 521.

history of the Goths with which we have already BOOK IV.
made acquaintance through the extracts taken CH. 8.
from it by the hasty and ignorant Jordanes¹.
In this book, as he himself says, speaking of it
through the mouth of his king², 'he carried his
researches up to the very cradle of the Gothic
race, gathering from the stores of his learning
what even hoar antiquity scarce remembered.
He drew forth the kings of the Goths from the
dim lurking-place of ages, restoring to the Amal
line the splendour that truly belonged to it, and
clearly proving that for seventeen generations
Athalaric's³ ancestors had been kings. Thus did
he assign a Roman origin to Gothic history, weav-
ing as it were into one chaplet the flowers which
he had culled from the pages of widely-scattered
authors.'

In other words, he collected what 'hoar anti- Principle
of its com-
position.
quity' among the Gothic veterans had to tell
him of the old Amal kings, the fragments of
their battle-songs and sagas, and persuaded or
forced them to coalesce with what his classical
authors, Dio and Trogus and Strabo, had to tell
him about the early history of the dim Northern
populations. By identifying the Goths with the
Getæ—an error for which he is not originally

¹ 'Suades ut nostris verbis duodecim Senatoris volumina De
Origine actibusque Getarum, ab olim adusque nunc per gene-
rationes regesque descendencia, in uno et hoc parvo libello
coartem' (Jordanes, Prologue to *De Rebus Geticis*).

² Variarum, ix. 25.

³ The grandson of Theodoric.

BOOK IV. responsible—and by claiming for them all the
 CH. 8. fantastic imaginations of the poets about the
 ‘Scythians’—a word of as wide and indefinite a
 meaning as the ‘Indians’ of modern discoverers—
 he succeeded in constructing for the fore-elders of
 Theodoric a highly respectable place in classical
 antiquity. He ‘made the Gothic origin Roman’—
 nay, rather pre-Roman, carrying back their earliest
 kings to Hercules and Theseus and the siege of
 Troy, and thus giving that connection with the
 cycle of Homeric legend which an upstart nation
 valued, as an upstart family with us values a
 pedigree which shows that it came over with the
 Conqueror.

The fictions
 which it
 contains
 may have
 been useful
 at the time.

All this seems a little childish to us now, and
 indeed the chief work of a modern enquirer is to
 unwind that which Cassiodorus wound together
 so carefully, to disentangle what ‘hoar antiquity’
 told him (the only thread that is of any value)
 from the flimsy and rotten threads which he col-
 lected from various authors in his library. But,
 for the man and the age, the work was doubtless
 a useful and creditable one. Many a Roman noble
 may have accepted a little more readily the orders
 of the so-called barbarian, who turned out to
 be not so great a barbarian after all, now that
 Cassiodorus, nearly the most learned man of his
 day, had proved that Goths fought against the
 Greeks at the siege of Troy, and that possibly
 even Theodoric might be the remote descendant
 of Telephus. And the great King himself, who

from those early days at Byzantium had always half-loved and admired the Roman State, though he felt that his rude Goths had in them something nobler;—to him this reconciling history of his clever secretary, which showed that he might be a true-hearted Goth and yet listen with delight to the verses of Homer, and gaze with rapture on the statues of Praxiteles, since these too were kinsmen of his forefathers, must have been a welcome discovery, and must have given him fresh courage to persevere in his life-work of conveying the blessings of *civilitas* to both nations of his subjects.

Strange is it to reflect that, after all, there was a truth underlying this odd jumble of Scytho-Geto-Gothic-Greek traditions,—a truth which scarcely till the beginning of this century was fully brought to light. Philology has now made it clear that Goth, Roman, and Greek were not really very distant relations, and the common home of the Aryan nations in the Asiatic highlands or elsewhere is something like a scientific compensation for the lost belief that all European nations were represented by their progenitors at the siege of Troy.

If Cassiodorus, with a true conviction that he was thus best serving his country, brought his loyal service to Theodoric, there can be no doubt that the heart of Theodoric also warmed towards him. He found in him the very minister whom he needed, to help him in fashioning his own great ideas of government, and to put them in the

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

Conferences between the King and his Minister.

BOOK IV. most acceptable shape before the Roman people.

CH. 8.

Often, we may be sure, in the '*gloriosa colloquia*' which the subject so lovingly commemorates, did King and Quæstor talk over the difficulties of the state, the turbulent freedom of the Goths, the venality and peculation of the Roman officials, the want of any high aim among the nobles or great purpose among the citizens, still proud of the name of Romans, but incapable of being stirred by anything nobler than a chariot-race, a battle between the Blues and Greens, or at best a contested Papal election. Often too would the remedies for these evils be discussed. Cassiodorus, like so many fluent rhetoricians, would perhaps think that it only required a sufficient number of his eloquent essays to establish *civilitas* in the new state, to make the Romans honest and the Goths law-abiding. Theodoric, with the Northern patience and the Northern melancholy, would refuse to accept any such optimist view of the situation; and sometimes, while feeling that the work was long and his life was shortening, would heave a sigh at the remembrance that Providence, so gracious to him in all else, had denied him the gift of a son, strong and valiant, to carry on his great enterprise.

Theodoric's
only legiti-
mate child,
his daugh-
ter Amala-
suntha.

Amalasuntha, the only legitimate child of Theodoric, was a woman endowed with much of her father's courage and strength of will, and more than her father's love for the civilisation and literature of Rome. Possibly foreseeing that this

tendency to copy the manners of the less war-
 like people might bring her into collision with the
 martial Goths after his decease, Theodoric de-
 termined to marry her to no Roman noble, but to
 a Goth of the purest blood that he could meet
 with. He already had one daughter (the child
 of a concubine) married to a Visigothic king and
 living in Spain. From his connection with that
 country he heard that there was dwelling there a
 scion of the old Ostrogothic house, Eutharic¹ son
 of Wideric, grandson (or more likely great-grand-
 son) of King Thorismund the Chaste, and therefore
 a lineal descendant of the mighty Hermanric, who
 once ruled all the lands between the Baltic and
 the Euxine. Eutharic was well reported of for
 valour and prudence and comeliness of person.
 The King summoned him to his court, gave him
 his daughter's hand in marriage, and four years
 later conferred upon him the honour of the consul-
 ship. The Gothic prince-consort visited Rome in
 order to celebrate his assumption of the consular
trabea with becoming magnificence. Senate and
 people poured forth to meet him. The games
 which he exhibited in the amphitheatre were on
 a scale of surpassing magnificence. The wild
 beasts, especially those from Africa, amazed and
 delighted the mob, many of whom had seen no
 such creatures before. Even Symmachus² the
 Byzantine, who was present at the time in Rome

BOOK IV.
 CH. 8.

Her mar-
 riage to
 Eutharic.

515.

519.

Eutharic's
 Consul-
 ship.

¹ Surnamed Cillica or Cilliga, I know not for what reason.

² Not the father-in-law of Boethius.

BOOK IV. on an embassy from the Eastern Emperor, was
 CH. 8. obliged to confess his stupefied admiration of the scene. When his sojourn in Rome was ended, Eutharic returned to Ravenna, and there exhibited the same shows, with even greater magnificence, in the presence of his father-in-law¹.

His character.

Of the prince thus romantically brought into the family of Theodoric we know very little, but that little makes us believe that he might have been found a useful counterpoise to the Romanising tendencies of Amalasuntha. The Anonymus Valesii, in the extract before quoted, calls him 'a man of harsh disposition and an enemy to the Catholic faith².' This perhaps means no more than that he stood firmly by the customs of his Arian forefathers, and was not inclined to bandy compliments with the priests and prefects whom he found standing round the throne of his father-in-law. But, whatever were his good or bad qualities, he died, before the death of Theodoric gave him an opportunity of making his mark on history³. Amalasuntha was thus left a widow, with a son and a daughter, Athalaric and Matasuentha, the former of whom must have been born in 518, as we are told by Procopius⁴ that he was eight years old at the death of his grandfather.

His early death.

¹ The account of Eutharic's marriage comes from Jordanes (De Reb. Get. 58), that of his pageant from Cassiodorus, who ends his Chronicle at this point.

² 'Nimio asper et contra fidem catholicam inimicus.'

³ I think the precise date of Eutharic's death is not recorded.

⁴ De Bello Gothico, i. 2.

From the family of Theodoric we return to the BOOK IV.
description of his ministers and friends. The elder CH. 8.
Cassiodorus seems to have retired from office soon
after his son had entered public life, and to have
spent the rest of his years in the ancestral home
in Bruttii, which was dear to four generations of
Cassiodori. For some years the great office of Faustus,
Prætorian
Prefect.
Prætorian Prefect was administered by Faustus,
to whom a large number of letters in the Variarum
are addressed. An act of oppression, however,
against a neighbour in the country alienated from
him the favour of the just Theodoric and caused
his downfall. A certain Castorius, who seems to
have got into debt, perhaps into other kinds of
trouble, had his farm unjustly wrested from him
by the all-powerful Prefect. On making his com-
plaint to the King and proving the justice of his
cause, he obtained a decree for the restitution of
his own farm and the addition of another, of equal
value, from the lands of the wrong-doer. 'Grimoda
the Saio' and 'Ferrocinctus the Apparitor,' ap-
parently one Goth and one Roman officer, were
charged with the execution of this decree, which
further declared that if 'that well-known schemer'
should attempt anything further against Castorius
he should be punished with a fine of fifty pounds
of gold (£2000). With some allowable complacency
Theodoric was hereupon made by his quæstor to
exclaim, 'Lo a deed which may henceforward curb
all overweening functionaries! A Prætorian Pre-
fect is not allowed to triumph in the spoliation

BOOK IV. of the lowly, and on the cry of the miserable his
 CH. 8. power of hurting them is taken from him at a
 blow.'

His fall. The Illustrious Faustus received leave of absence from the sacred walls of Rome for four months: and it may be doubted whether, when he returned thither, he any longer wore the purple robes of the Prætorian Prefect¹.

Invitation to the elder Cassiodorus. Soon after this signal display of the King's justice an invitation was sent to the elder Cassiodorus, inviting him, in very flattering terms, to return to Court², where probably he would have been asked to reassume the great office which he had previously held. Apparently, however, the bill of Squillace had greater charms for him than the palace of Ravenna. We have no evidence that he again took any active part in public affairs.

Artemidorus, the king's friend. A pleasing contrast to the rapacious and intriguing Faustus was afforded by one who had been faithful through good and evil fortune, the King's friend *Artemidorus*. This man, one of the nobles of Byzantium, a friend and relation of the Emperor Zeno, had been strangely attracted by the young barbarian, to whom he was sent as ambassador, on the eve of his march into Epirus³.

¹ Variarum, iii. 20, 21. Some later letters are addressed to him as Prefect, but it is unsafe to draw a conclusion from this, as the order of the collection is evidently not strictly chronological.

² Variarum, iii. 28. In this letter Theodoric thus alludes to the fall of Faustus: 'Nam qui alterum reprimere conati sumus, te etiam palatio teste laudavimus.'

³ See p. 100.

He left, for his sake, the splendid career which BOOK IV.
awaited him in the Eastern Empire, followed him CH. 8.
through all his campaigns, and sat, an ever-welcome
and genial guest, at the royal table. Not aspiring
to high dignity, nor desirous to burden himself
with the cares of State, he found for several years
sufficient occupation for his artistic, pleasure-loving
nature, in arranging the great shows of the circus
for the citizens of Ravenna. At length, however
(in 509), Theodoric persuaded him to undertake
the weightier charge of Prefect of the City, and
sent him in that capacity to Rome to govern the
capital and preside over the Senate. The light-
hearted Byzantine seems to have discharged the
duties of this serious office more creditably than
might have been expected.

Very different from this brilliant, joyous Greek Count
was the other close friend of Theodoric, the rugged Tulum.
Gothic soldier *Tulum*. Sprung from one of the
noblest Gothic families, he mounted guard as a
stripling in the King's antechamber. His first
experience in war was earned in the campaign
of Sirmium¹, and here he showed such vigour 504.
and courage, and such a comprehension of the
art of war, as procured for him in early manhood
the place of chief military counsellor to Theodoric.
A marriage with a princess of Amal blood² still
further consolidated his position. He was admitted

¹ Described in chapter x.

² Her name and degree of relationship to Theodoric are not
recorded.

BOOK IV. to the friendly conversation of the King in his
 CH. 8. moments of least reserve, and, surest mark of
 friendship, often dared to uphold against his master's
 the policy which he deemed best for that master's
 interests. In the Gaulish campaign of 509¹, in
 the campaign, or rather the armed neutrality, of
 524¹, he was again conspicuous. Returning from
 the last by sea he suffered shipwreck, probably
 somewhere on the coast of Tuscany. The ship and
 crew were swallowed up by the waves. Tulum,
 with his only child, took to an open boat, and he
 had to depend on his own strength and skill to
 save them both by rowing. Theodoric, who was
 awaiting his arrival, saw with agony the imminent
 danger of his friend. The aged monarch would
 fain have rushed into the waves to rescue him,
 but, to his delight, Tulum battled successfully with
 the billows, and soon leaping ashore received his
 master's affectionate embrace².

We may perhaps conjecture that at the close
 of Theodoric's reign Tulum and Cassiodorus stood
 in friendly rivalry, the one at the head of the
 Gothic, the other at the head of the Roman party,
 among the nobles who were loyal to the new
 dynasty.

Symma-
 chus and
 Boethius.

Of two other names by which the Court of
 Theodoric was rendered illustrious, Symmachus
 the orator and historian, with his son-in-law
 Boethius, the Marquis of Worcester of his age,
 it will be well to speak later on, when we have

¹ See chapter ix.

² Cass. Var. viii. 10.

to discuss the melancholy history of their end. BOOK IV.
CH. 8.
Enough to say here that, during the greater part of this period, they appear to have been on friendly terms with the King, though not zealously and continuously engaged in his service like Cassiodorus and Liberius.

The usual residence of Theodoric was Ravenna, with which city his name is linked as inseparably as those of Honorius or Placidia. The letters of Cassiodorus show his zeal for the architectural enrichment of this capital. Square blocks of stone were to be brought from Faenza, marble pillars to be transported from the palace on the Pincian Hill: the most skilful artists in mosaic were invited from Rome, to execute some of those very works which we still wonder at in the basilicas and baptisteries of the city by the Ronco. Theodoric's residence at Ravenna.

The chief memorials of his reign which Theodoric has left at Ravenna are a church, a palace, and a tomb. Of the last it will be the fitting time to speak when the great Amal is carried thither for burial. His chief buildings there.

The marvellous basilica which now bears the name of S. Apollinare Nuovo¹ was originally dedicated to St. Martin, and from its beautiful gold-inlaid roof received the title *S. Martinus in Caelo Aureo*. An inscription under the windows of the tribune, still visible in the ninth century, recorded that King Theodoric had built that church from Church of S. Martino (now S. Apollinare Nuovo).

¹ Otherwise called S. Apollinare dentro le Mura, to distinguish it from S. Apollinare in Classe.

BOOK IV. its foundations in the name of our Lord Jesus
CH. 8. Christ¹. Notwithstanding the words of the eccle-

Its mo-
 saics.

siastical biographer, who ascribes the work to an orthodox bishop, Agnellus, it is difficult not to believe that to Theodoric's order are due those great pictures in mosaic which give the church its peculiar glory. On the opposite sides of the nave, high attics above the colonnades are lined with two long processions. On the north wall, the virgin martyrs of the Church proceed from the city of Classis, each one bearing her crown of martyrdom in her hand, to offer it to the infant Christ, who sits on Mary's lap, attended by four angels. Between the virgin martyrs and the angels intervene the three wise men from the East, who, with crowns on their heads, run forward with reverent haste to present their offerings to the holy Child. The star glows above them in the firmament. On the south wall a corresponding procession of martyred men, also bearing crowns in their hands, moves from the palace at Ravenna onwards to the Christ in glory, who sits upon his judgment-seat and is also guarded by four angels. The dignity of both groups is their most striking characteristic. Not all the quaint stiffness of the mosaic can veil the expression of solemn sadness in the faces of the martyrs, who look like men who have come out of great tribulation and have

¹ 'Theodericus rex hanc ecclesiam a fundamentis in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi fecit' (Agnelli Liber Pontificalis, § 86, p. 335, ed. 1878).

not yet seen the face of Him for whom they BOOK IV.
 suffered. Nor does the same deficiency in the CH. 8.
 mode of representation prevent our seeing the
 look of radiant triumph on the faces of the virgins.
 Here are Agnes with her lamb, the child-martyr
 Eulalia of Merida, Lucia of Syracuse, Agatha of
 Catana, all the most celebrated maidens who
 suffered for the faith in the terrible days of
 Diocletian. No wrinkled and faded convent-
 dwellers are these. Fresh, young, and beautiful,
 appavelled like the daughters of a king, they
 move on with a smile of triumph upon their lips
 to see the wondrous Child for whose sake they,
 scarcely yet emerged from childhood, gave up
 their tender bodies to torture and to death¹.

Besides the human interest of these figures, there Representations of Classis
 is the local interest derived from the fact that we
 have here contemporary views of the Ravenna of
 the sixth century. Classis is represented as a
 walled city, with colonnades, domes and pediments.

¹ Several other churches were built at Ravenna in the time
 of Theodoric, chiefly no doubt for the Arian worship. One,
 erected by Eutharic in 518 and dedicated to S. Andrea dei
 Goti, was destroyed by the Venetians to construct with the
 stones the fortress of Brancaleone. The church of Santo Spirito
 (originally dedicated to St. Theodore), and the neighbouring
 S. Maria in Cosmedin, which is still called the Arian Baptistery,
 are among the few ecclesiastical relics of the Arian rule. The
 baptistery is of octagonal form. On the roof are represented
 the Apostles, in a standing position: in a circular medallion in
 the middle, the Baptism of Christ. The Saviour is depicted as
 a young man, beardless. Over against John the Baptist is the
 figure of an old man, seated, supposed to represent the river
 Jordan.

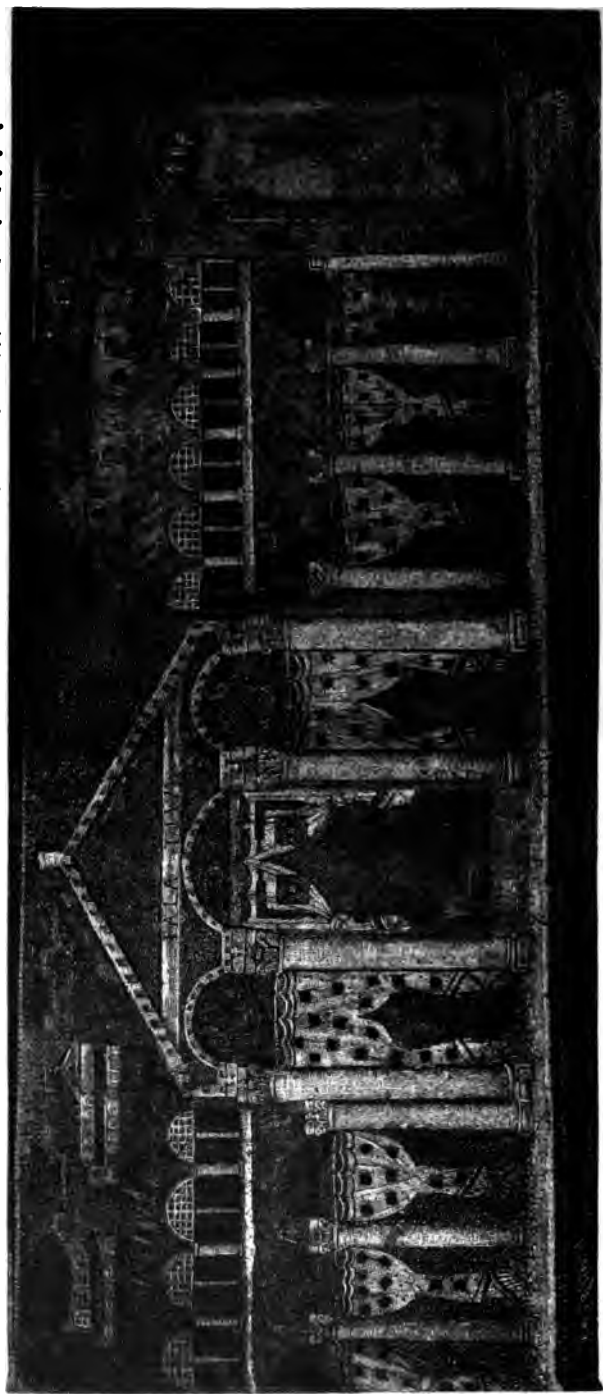
BOOK IV. Hard by, three ships, one with sails fully spread,
 CH. 8. the others under bare poles, are entering the
 narrow lighthouse-guarded passage from the sea.
 and the The palace of Theodoric, as represented on the other
 Palace. side, consists of four tall Corinthian columns with
 arches springing from their capitals, a pediment
 above, and in a horizontal space of white the word
 PALATIVM. On one side of this, the main en-
 trance, is a long low colonnade with an upper
 storey over it. The objects which most catch the
 stranger's eye are the curtains between the pillars.
 Looped up half-way, and with large square patches
 of purple upon them, they have a singularly
 modern aspect, but are no doubt a pretty faithful
 representation of the veil which guarded the
 privacy both of the Eastern Emperor and the
 Gothic King.

Theodoric's
 Palace.

The palace itself, as we learn from local records, occupied a large space on the eastern side of the town¹. It adjoined the beautiful church of S. Martinus in Caelo Aureo, which was perhaps used as a royal chapel. Only one fragment of it, but one of pretty well-ascertained genuineness, exists to the present day. It is a high wall, built of the square brick-tiles with which we are so familiar in Roman work, and with eight marble pillars in the upper part supporting nine arched recesses, one of

¹ It stretched, says C. Ricci (the best authority on the antiquities of Ravenna), from the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista to the Strada di Porta Alberoni, and from S. Apollinare Nuovo to the city walls. It thus probably included a corner of the site of the modern railway station.

THE



Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna; from a Mosaic in the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo.

them of considerable width. It is the mere shell of a ruin: the house behind it is entirely modern. A porphyry vase, or rather high trough, let into the lower part of the wall used to be shown as the former coffin of Theodoric, but this notion is now generally abandoned, and the prevalent idea seems to be that it was once a bath. The palace we are told was surrounded with colonnades, and had many dining apartments (*triclinia*) within it¹. We learn from the Anonymus Valesii that this edifice, which no doubt took many years to build, was completed but not 'dedicated,' at the time of Theodoric's death.

BOOK IV.
CH. 8.

Here then, on the eastern side of his capital, dwelt for more than thirty years the great Ostrogoth, looking forth towards the dark Pineta where he had had that terrible night of battle with Odovacar, and seeing, it may be, from some high tower in his palace, the blue rim of the Hadriatic. Beyond that sea, but of course invisible, lay his own fair province of Dalmatia; beyond that again those wasted plains of Moesia, where he had wandered so often, the fugitive lord of a brigand people.

Statues in abundance were reared in his honour, at Rome, at Ravenna, at Ticinum, in all the chief cities of Italy. We hear of one statue made by Boethius with so much art that it ever turned towards the sun, and hence was called *Regisol*; but this is probably a mere legend of the Middle

His Statues.

¹ Ricci (*Ravenna*, p. 139), quoting Agnellus.

BOOK IV. Ages¹. In another sculptured group, erected on a
 CH. 8. pinnacle of his palace, and conspicuous to mariners from afar, Theodoric, grasping shield and spear and clothed in a coat of mail, sat on a brazen horse covered over with gold. The two cities Rome and Ravenna completed the group. Rome was apparently standing, guarding him in calm dignity, with shield and spear; while Ravenna seemed gliding rapidly forward to meet her lord, her right foot passing over the sea and her left resting on the land. The statues of the horse and his rider, Charles the Great, after his coronation in Rome, carried across the Alps to Aix-la-Chapelle, declaring that he had seen nothing like them in his whole realm of Francia².

Theodoric
 at Pavia
 and Ve-
 rona.

Pavia and Verona were also places honoured with the occasional residence of Theodoric. At both he built a palace and public baths. Of neither of these two palaces is any remnant now to be seen. A grim square fortress of the fifteenth century, much injured by the French Republicans, stands (it is believed) on the site of Theodoric's palace at Pavia. So too at Verona: the palace, of which there were still some noble remains incorporated into the castle of the Viscontis, was blown up by the French in 1801, and an absolutely modern building stands upon its site. This, like the castle at Pavia and so many buildings in

¹ Rubeus (*Historiae Ravennates*, p. 127) tells this curious story, but does not give his authority.

² Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, § 94 (S. Peter Senior).

Italy of great historic name, is now occupied as a BOOK IV.
CH. 8.
barrack.

It seems probable that Theodoric's residence at both these places depended on the state of Trans-alpine politics. When the tribes of the Middle Danube were moving suspiciously to and fro, and the vulnerable point by the Brenner Pass needed to be especially guarded, he fixed his quarters at Verona¹. When Gaul menaced greater danger, then he removed to Ticinum. It was apparently the fact that Verona was his coign of vantage, from whence he watched the German barbarians, which obtained for him from their minstrels the title of *Dietrich of Bern*. Thus strangely travestied, Dietrich of Bern. he was swept within the wide current of the legends relating to Attila, and hence it is that the really grandest figure in the history of the migration of the peoples appears in the Nibelungen Lied, not as a great king and conqueror on his own account, but only as a faithful squire of the terrible Hunnish king whose empire had in fact crumbled into dust before the birth of Theodoric².

¹ Anon. Valesii, 81 : 'Theoderico Veronae consistente *propter metum gentium*.'

² The interesting but difficult subject of the Theodoric of Saga is one which I prefer not to enter upon, not having the requisite materials for its satisfactory treatment. I observe that Maffei (Verona Illustrata, 387) says that most of the German writers, even of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, call Theodoric by the surname *Veronensis*.

NOTE E. THE EDICTUM THEODORICI REGIS.

NOTE E. THE literary history of this Edict is rather curious. It was printed in Nivellius' edition of the works of Cassiodorus (Paris, 1579), and, according to a letter inserted in that volume, was copied from a MS. supplied to the publisher by Peter Pithoeus (Pierre Pithou) a well-known scholar of that day. Another MS. was also forwarded to the same publisher by Edouard Molè. *Both these MSS. have since disappeared*, and only the printed transcripts in Nivellius' book and in Lindenbrog's 'Codex Legum Antiquarum' (Frankfurt, 1607) remain, as evidences that they ever existed. In these circumstances, some critics have hinted at a possible forgery; but the Edictum corresponds far too closely with the facts of Theodoric's position, and the knowledge of those facts by the scholars of the seventeenth century was far too slight, to make such a suspicion reasonable. Every student knows that some MSS., which were in existence at the time of the revival of letters, have since disappeared in an unaccountable way.

As for the date of the Edictum, since the theory that it *must* have been promulgated in 500 was abandoned, some enquirers have tried to prove that it must have been composed after 506, thinking that it shows signs of copying from the Breviarium Alarici promulgated in that year by Alaric II, the Visigothic king, for his Roman subjects. But, as Dahn very clearly shows, there is no such close correspondence between the two codes as this theory alleges, and if there had been, it was more likely that Alaric should copy from Theodoric than *vice versa*.

Upon the whole I think that Dahn's arguments, while good against the *assertion* that the Edict was promulgated in 500, during Theodoric's visit to Rome, contain nothing against the *conjecture* that such was the fact, a conjecture which seems to me eminently probable and reasonable.

Dahn has subjected the text of the Edictum, which

he has published in the fourth section of his 'Könige der Germanen,' to a very searching, almost microscopical, examination, in order to ascertain of what elements it is composed; and finds that it comes almost exclusively from Roman sources, especially the Theodosian Code and the Sentences of Paulus. In some cases Theodoric has modified the provisions of the Roman law, generally in the direction of greater mildness, but not always. Thus in § 107 he ordains that the stirrer-up of sedition, in the people or the army, shall be burnt, a provision unknown to the *Lex Julia Majestatis*. By § 32, the right of bequeathing property by will, a right unknown to the ancient Germans, is conceded, in remarkable terms, to the barbarians who were serving in the army; yet is this right not limited to the time of their actual residence in camp, but may be exercised also at home: 'Barbaris, quos certum est reipublicae militare, quomodo voluerint, faciendi damus licentiam testamenti, sive domi, sive in castris fuerint constituti.'

NOTE E.

The Edict, as will be seen from the analysis of its contents given below, is almost entirely devoid of methodical arrangement. Dahn conjectures that it never professed to be an exhaustive code, but was a mere collection of cases, chiefly between barbarians and Romans, which had arisen for decision since the accession of Theodoric, the sections of the code being arranged pretty nearly in the same order in which the cases had occurred, though a slight attempt to group them in order of subject is observable. This may perhaps account for the large proportion of sections of the Edict which relate to the law of Master and Slave. In the circumstances of the Gothic settlement in Italy, the slaves, speaking the same language as the provincials, yet belonging many of them to the new barbarian lords, might easily be a frequent source of bickerings.

It will be well to translate the Prologue and Epilogue, as these throw considerable light on the conditions out of which the necessity for the Edict arose.

Note E.

Prologus.

0
Many complaints have reached our ears that some in the provinces trample the precepts of the laws foot. And though no one can possibly claim the of the laws to defend any unjust deed, yet we, regard to the quiet of the community and having our eyes those events which may frequently occur, order to terminate cases of this kind, decree these presents: in order that reverence for public right being kept intact, and the laws being observed with the utmost devotion by all; both Barbarians and Romans may know from the present edicts what course they ought to pursue in respect of the several articles here set forth.'

Then follows the Edictum in 154 sections.

Epilogus.

'These things, as far as our occupations would allow of our attending to them, or as they occurred at the moment to our mind, we have ordered for the common benefit of all, whether Barbarians or Romans, and do desire that the devotion of all, whether Barbarians or Romans, will keep them inviolate. Those cases which either the brevity of the Edict or our public cares have not allowed us to comprehend in the foregoing, must be terminated when they arise, by the regular course of the laws. Nor let any person, of whatsoever dignity or substance or power or military rank or honour he may be, think that he may in any manner infringe any one of these provisions, which we have collected chiefly (*pro aliqua parte*) out of the *Leges Novellae* and the sanctions (*sanctimonia*) of the old law. And let all commissioners (*cognitores*) and all framers of decisions know that if in anything they shall violate these Edicts, they will be deservedly struck with the penalty of proscription and banishment. But if perchance any influential personage or his procurator or factor (*vice-dominus*) or any farmer of revenues, whether he be

a Barbarian or a Roman, shall in any manner of cause not allow these Edicts to be observed, and if the judge who is trying the case shall not be able to hinder and block them, nor to vindicate the law as here laid down, if he has any care for his own safety let him lay aside every suggestion of timidity and at once bring before our notice a full report of the whole case. Only in this way will he himself be absolved from blame: inasmuch as the provisions made for the security of all the provincials ought to be carefully guarded by the zeal of the whole community.'

NOTE E.

ANALYSIS OF THE EDICTUM.

	SECTIONS
Bribery and extortion by a judge or the members of his staff	1-4
Hearing, sentence, and execution	5-9
Wrongful invasion or retention of property	10-11, 33, 75-77
Prescription (of thirty years)	12
Informers	13-14, 35, 50
Homicide	15-16
Rape and seduction	17-22, 59-60, 62
Successions and wills	23-33
Adultery	36-39
Perjury	40-42
'Champerty and maintenance'	43-47
Testimony of slaves	48-49
Conveyance of property	49-53
Divorce	54
Appeals	55
Cattle-lifting	56-58
Immoralities and marriages of slaves	61, 63-67
Title to slaves by prescription	68-70
Debtors claiming privilege of sanctuary	71
Propounding wills	72
Judicial process	73-74
Kidnapping and laws as to fugitive slaves	78-88
Persons feigning themselves officers of Court	89
Obtaining money on false pretences and subornation of witnesses	90-91
Betrothal and matrimony	92-93

Note E.

	SECTIONS
NOTE E. Children of free-born persons claimed as slaves . . .	94-96
Arson	97-98
Illegal death-punishment	99
Examination of slaves by torture	100-102
Crimes to be enquired into on the spot	103
Removing land-marks	104-105
Settlement of law-suits to be final	106
Sedition (punishment—burning)	107
Pagan sacrifices, soothsaying, necromancy	108
Robbery by a slave	109
Profaning sepulchres	110
Burying within the walls of Rome	111
Property of condemned persons	112-113
Rescue of offenders by clergy or others	114
Theft from the Treasury	115
Receiving stolen goods	116
Theft by slaves. Restitution by masters	117-118, 120
Liability of innkeepers for goods stolen	119
Loans contracted by slaves	121
Irregular reclamation of debts	122-124
Violation of right of sanctuary	125
Assignment of debts (<i>Pittacia delegationis</i>) by Curiales and others who have entered the Church (an ob- scure but important law)	126
Assignments in general	127
Procedure against persons who are in the <i>potestas</i> of another	128
Fraudulent gains	129
Reward for apprehension of thieves	130
Enforcement of order for payment of debt	131
Burden of proof on claimant	132
Women not bound to fulfil covenant to pay a third person's debts	133
Usury (not to exceed 12 per cent.)	134
Redemption of pledges	135
Vendors and purchasers	136-141
Serfs (<i>originarii</i>) may be sold apart from the soil	142
<p>(This provision, probably made in the interest of Gothic nobles who found themselves burdened with a number of intractable <i>coloni</i>, virtually turned the serf into a slave.)</p>	

	SECTIONS
Privileges of Jews	143
(' Circa Judaeos privilegia legibus delata servantur : quos inter se jurgantes et suis viventes legibus, eos judices habere necesse est, quos habent observantiae praeceptores.')	<u>NOTE E.</u>
Accurate description of property and statement of price in deeds of property sold by the Treasury	144
Barbarian refusing to answer though thrice summoned	145
Right of action for stolen crops	146
Specific performance of contract for sale	147
Slaves taken in war and recovered for owner . . .	148
Fraudulent weights and measures	149
Forced labour unjustly demanded from peasant . .	150
Injury to crops or trees	151
Death of a slave	152
Wife not to be sued for husband's debts	153
No suits to be prosecuted on Sunday or in Easter-week	154

NOTE F. THE TERRACINA INSCRIPTION.

NOTE F. IN the Piazza at Terracina stands a large slab with an inscription upon it recording that 'Dominus clarissimus adque inclytus Rex Theodericus, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus, bono reipublicae natus, custos libertatis, et propagator Romani nominis, domitor gentium' had ordered that nineteen miles (*Decennovium*) of the Appian Way, being the part extending from Trip(ontium) to Terracina, should be cleared of the waters which had flowed together upon it from the marshes on either side. This work, not attempted by any of the preceding sovereigns, has now, by God's favour, with admirable good fortune, been accomplished for the general advantage and the safety of travellers. The nobleman who at the command of the most clement sovereign has diligently laboured (*naviter insudante*) at its performance is Caecina Maurus Basilius Decius, 'vir clarissimus et inlustris, ex-praefectus urbi, ex-praefectus praetorio, ex-consul ordinarius et patricius,' who, to perpetuate the glory of so great a lord, has led the water through many channels not previously existing to the sea, and has restored the land to a degree of dryness unknown to the ancients.

The concession to Decius is contained in Cass. Var. ii. 32. The above inscription is only a copy, but apparently a correct copy, made in the fifteenth century. The original exists in duplicate in a building erected by Pope Pius VI at Mesa (*ad Medias*), half-way between Terracina and Forum Appii.

NOTE G. THE TWO CASSIODORI (Father and Son).

THERE is now really no doubt that the succession of the different members of the family of Cassiodorus is as stated in the text; but as the reader may find a different theory advanced by some respectable authors, it is as well to state that theory and the reasons advanced in support of it. NOTE G.

Manso (*Geschichte des Ostgothischen Reiches*, pp. 332-349), following the life of Cassiodorus prefixed to Gare's edition, contends that the third and fourth persons mentioned in our list—whom we may label Patricius and Senator—were in fact one.

According to his view, the author of the *Variae* was born about 468, filled at twenty the office of *Comes Privatarum* and at twenty-one that of *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* under Odovacar, joined the party of Theodoric, won over the inhabitants of Sicily to his cause, became between 491 and 514 successively Quæstor, Magister Officiorum, Prætorian Prefect, and Patrician, then held certain offices under Athalaric (about which there is no dispute), retired from official life in 538 (at the age of seventy), and died about 563.

The theory that Cassiodorus, at so early an age as twenty or twenty-one, filled the high offices of *Comes Privatarum* and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* is, though not impossible, somewhat improbable. But the whole argument in favour of it rests on the belief that the Cassiodorus addressed in *Variarum* i. 3 is Cassiodorus the writer of the letter. He might have been, for Cassiodorus, writing on behalf of Athalaric, does undoubtedly (in *Variarum*, ix. 24) address himself in terms of high commendation. But it is quite certain that the person addressed in *Variarum* i. 3. is not the writer, but the writer's father. As if in order to guard against the possibility of such a confusion, the younger Cassiodorus always speaks of himself as Senator. The letters i. 3 and i. 4 are evidently descriptive of a

NOTE G. statesman retiring from his official career, not of one just entering on its busiest period. In iii. 28 we have an invitation to 'Cassiodorus Vir Illustris et Patricius' to visit the Court. How do the supporters of Manso's theory suppose that this was written, by Cassiodorus to himself, at the command of a king from whom he was separated by the whole length of Italy? Again, in i. 26 it is ordered that the Church of Vercelli shall not pay more land-tax than she did 'in the time of the Magnificent Cassiodorus the Patrician, a man of pure faith and tried integrity.' Is that the way in which a man, still in office, speaks of himself? Would the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (1884) talk of the rate of income-tax 'which was fixed by the Rt. Hon. Hugh Childers, a man of tried integrity?'

More convincing still is the argument derived from the date of the 'Various Letters' themselves. Let any one carefully study the letters included in that collection, endeavouring as far as may be to assign a date to each. (With some there are absolutely no materials for coming to a conclusion on such a point.) With two exceptions he will find that there are none, capable of being dated at all, that do not require a later date than A.D. 500. These two exceptions are the letter to the Emperor Anastasius (i. 1) and that to Luduin (Clovis) king of the Franks (ii. 41).

The first used to be generally connected with the legation either of Faustus (493) or Festus (497) to Constantinople. But, now that the letter is more carefully examined, it is seen that, with its references to *causae iracundiae* and to *contentiones* and its prayer that *sinceritas pacis* may be restored, it is more suited to a time when there had been actually war between Italy and the East, and was therefore probably written in 506 or 509. No doubt the reason why it is placed first in the collection is, not its priority of composition, but the exalted rank of the person to whom it is addressed.

The letter to Clovis congratulating him on the victory over the Alamanni does certainly suggest most obviously

496, the date of the victory after which Clovis was baptized. NOTE G.
 But von Schubert, in his just published monograph, 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken' (Strassburg, 1884), has shown strong grounds for believing that this victory, though important, did not annihilate the independence of the Alamanni, and that another more important victory was gained by Clovis in the early years of the sixth century.

On the whole question then, looking to the intense literary activity of Cassiodorus Senator, from about 501 onwards, we have a right to ask, 'What was this prominent official, who had attained the rank of an *Illustis* in 480, and had borne such a leading part in the events connected with Theodoric's victory, doing in those years between 493 and 501, and how is it that all that early part of the reign of Theodoric is such a complete blank, if he was then conducting its correspondence?'

The real answer is that Senator was then in no high official position, but was a lad studying rhetoric, perhaps at Syracuse or at Rome.

These are the conclusions to which I, like most of those who have thoroughly examined the subject, was brought by weighing only the internal evidence afforded by the *Variae*. Upon this comes a piece of external evidence, which, if its genuineness and early date can be maintained, —and there seems no doubt of either,—simply annihilates the theory of Manso. Here is an extract from the *Ordo generis Cassiodoriorum*, from a *libellus* which the author of the *Variae* addressed to his friend Rufius Petronius Nicomachus [Cethegus]:—

'Cassiodorus Senator vir eruditissimus et multis dignitatibus pollens. Juvenis adeo, dum patris Cassiodori patricii et praefecti praetorii consiliarius fieret, et laudes Theodorichi regis Gothorum facundissime recitasset, ab eo quaestor est factus, patricius et consul ordinarius, postmodum dehinc magister officiorum, et praefuisset (?) formulas dictionum quas in duodecim libris ordinavit et *Variarum* titulum superposuit. Scripsit praecipiente Theo-

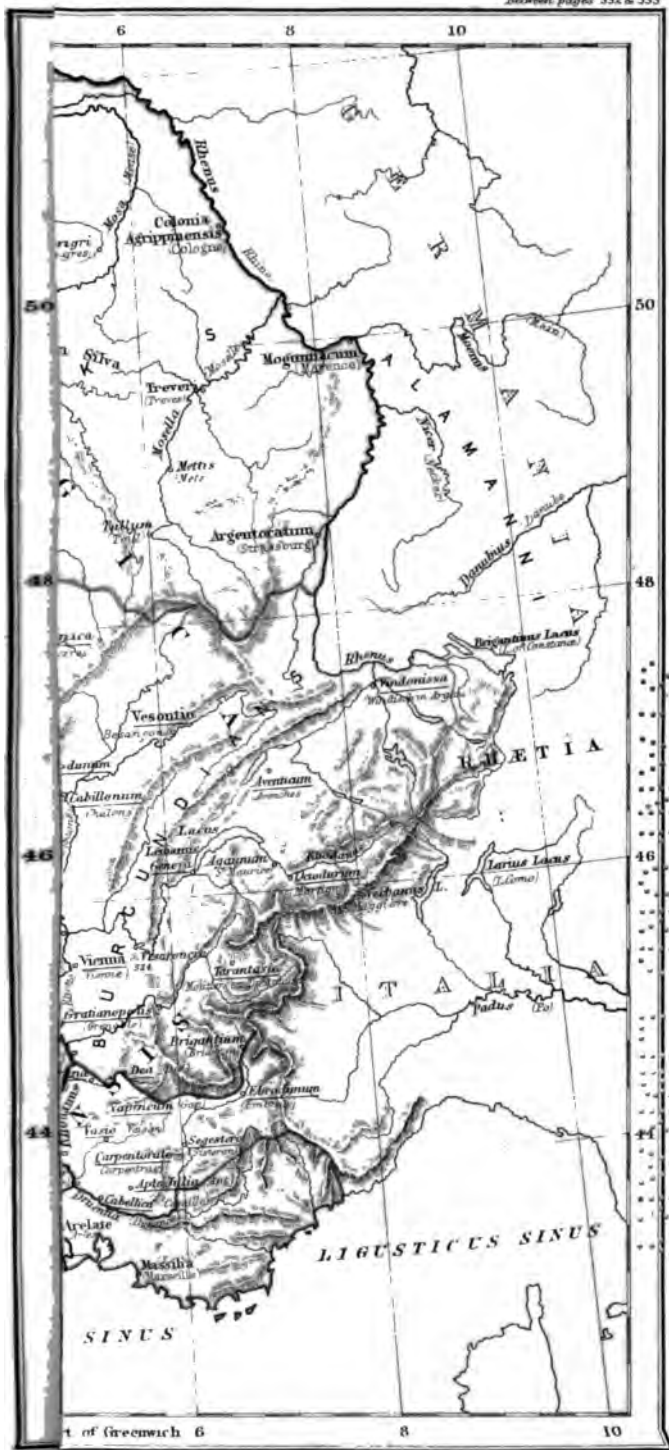
NOTE G. doricho rege historiam Gothicam, originem eorum et loca moresque xii libris annuntians.'

This is from the so-called *Anecdota Holderi* published and commented upon by Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1877).

After this, unless the authority of the 'libellus' can be upset, there is really nothing more to be said.

The provoking part of the controversy is that the true view was formerly held, but was too lightly abandoned. Tillemont (*Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 625) has the four Cassiodori all right, speaking of 'les exploits militaires [contre Genserik] de l'ancien Cassiodore . . . *qui était bisayeul* de l'autre qui est célèbre par ses écrits.' Gibbon, following Tillemont, says (chap. xxxix. n. 57), 'Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorus, the father and the son, were successively employed in the administration of Theoderic. The son was born in the year 479.' His only mistake is that he fixes the beginning of the *Variae* some years too late, at 509. Clinton (*Fasti Romani*, s. a. 493) has the four generations correctly enumerated, though I do not know what authority he has for saying positively, 'Cassiodorus or Cassiodorius is thirteen years of age in 493.' All these authors have the matter correctly stated: but the worthy Manso in his seventh 'Beilage,' by reviving an obsolete theory that father and son were the same person, has led a number of historians and essayists into error, they all following him like sheep through a hedge, until, as the Reviewer previously quoted says¹, 'there is some confusion between the different Cassiodori.'

¹ Church Quarterly Review, x. 293. n. 1.



of Greenwich 6
Body

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CHAPTER IX.

THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH GAUL.

Authorities.

Sources :—

THE *Historia Francorum* of GREGORY OF TOURS (about 538 to 594); the Chronicle of MARIUS OF AVENTICUM (about 530 to 594); the Letters of AVITUS Bishop of Vienne (who died between 525 and 532); the *De Vita Epiphanii* of ENNODIUS Bishop of Ticinum (about 473 to 521); the Life of S. CAESARIUS of Arles (who died 542), written by his disciples and included in the Bollandist collection (27 August); and the *PASSIO S. SIGISMUNDI* by an unknown hand, written probably in the seventh or eighth century, now published by Jahn (in the book mentioned below) free from the interpolations which had been introduced into it.

Guides :—

Binding, 'Geschichte des Burgundisch-Romanischen Königreichs' (Leipzig, 1868). Jahn, 'Geschichte der Burgundionen' (Halle, 1874). Von Schubert, 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken' (Strassburg, 1884).

As the subject of Burgundian history is an intricate one, and lies a little outside of my special work, I have availed myself very freely of Binding's labours, checking him in some places by Jahn, who is a rather severe critic of his performance.

THE respite from foreign invasion during the reign of Theodoric was chiefly due to his com-

Matrimo-
nial alli-
ances of
Theodoric.

THE MARRIAGES OF THE AMALS.

Erelieva = THEUDEMIR,
(or Eusebia) + 474

CHILDERIC,
King of the Salian Franks,
+ 482

THRASAMUND = Amala-
(Transimund),
King of the
Vandals, + 523

GUNDORAD,
King of the
Burgundians,
+ 516.

Uxor quam = THEODORIC = Angolada
habuit ante
regnum
(Anon. Val. 63)
Concubina
(Jord. 58)

CLOVIS
(Hlodwig
or Loduin),
+ 511.

HERMAN = Amala-
FRID, berga
King of
the Thu-
ringians,
+ 531(?)

Gudelina = THEODA-
HAD,
+ 536

GODOMAR,
reigned
524-534.

SIGISMUND = Theude-
King of
the Bur-
gundians,
+ 524

ALARIO II, = Arevagni
(A. V.)
Ostro-
gotho (J.)
+ 534

AMALA-
SUNTHA,
+ 534

EUTHARIC

Amalfrid,
Magister Militum
under Justinian.

THEODORIC, = Suavegottha
King of
the
Franks.

Segeric,
murdered
522.

AMALARIC,
King of
the
Visigoths,
+ 531.

ATHEALARIC,
+ 534.

WITIGIS = MATASU-
EUTHA

Germanus, = Germanus,
nephew of
Justinian,
+ 550
Germanus junior.

manding position at the head of the new Teutonic royalties of Europe. That position was in great measure strengthened and consolidated by a system of matrimonial alliances with the chief of the royal families of the barbarians. The somewhat entangled sentences in which they are described by the anonymous authority¹ quoted in the last chapter, deserve therefore a more careful study than we might at first, when repelled by their uncouth form and by the harsh sound of the barbarian names with which they are filled, be disposed to give to them.

We see from them that Theodoric was himself the brother-in-law of the king of the Franks and the king of the Vandals, and that the owner of the Visigothic, and the heir-apparent of the Burgundian royalty were married to his daughters. Our informant might have gone further, and told us that a niece of Theodoric was married to the king of the Thuringians. Here was a vision of a 'family compact,' binding together all the kingdoms of the West, from the Scheldt to Mount Atlas, in a great confederacy, filling all the new barbarian thrones with the sons, the grandsons, or the nephews of Theodoric, a matrimonial State-system surpassing (may we not say?) anything that Hapsburg or Bourbon ever succeeded in accomplishing, when they sought to make Venus instead of Mars build up their empires. We shall see however that, when it came to the tug of war between one barbarian chief

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

'Family compact.'

¹ Anonymus Valesii, §§ 63 and 68; see pp. 293-4.

BOOK IV. and another, this family compact, like so many others
 CH. 9. in later days, snapped with the strain. Yet it was
 not at once a failure ; for one generation at least the
 position of Theodoric, as a kind of patriarch of the
 kingly clan, was one of grandeur and influence, and
 did undoubtedly promote the happiness of Europe.

Relations
 with the
 Vandals.

477-484.

484-496.

496-523.

Thrasa-
 mund mar-
 ries Amala-
 frida.

With the Vandal sovereigns of Carthage his
 relations were, till near the close of his reign,
 friendly. Gaiseric's son, Huneric, that fierce and
 cruel persecutor of the Catholics, had ended his
 short reign before Theodoric started on his march
 for Italy. His cousins and successors, Gunthamund
 and Thrasamund, though still Arians, abated
 sensibly the rigour of the persecutions at home
 and pursued a fair and moderate policy abroad.
 The corsair-state of the fierce adventurer Gaiseric
 had lost something of its lawless vigour. It was
 passing into the rank of gular monarchies, and
 becoming flaccid and respectable. Sicily, which
 had been subjected for many years to their
 depredations, and then under Odovacar had paid a
 tribute something like our own Danegeld as the
 price of quietness, was now free both from invasion
 and from tribute¹. On the death of his first wife
 (possibly soon after 500) Thrasamund married
 Amalafrida, the widowed sister of the Ostrogothic
 king. A thousand Gothic nobles with five thou-
 sand mounted servants followed Amalafrida to her
 African home, and the fortress of Lilybæum

¹ This is the conclusion fairly drawn by Papencordt (p. 119)
 from the language of Cassiodorus, Ennodius, and Theophanes.

(*Marsala*), at the extreme western corner of Sicily, BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
was, with more generosity perhaps than statesman-like prudence, handed over to Thrasamund as the dowry of his elderly bride.

With two of the three great powers that still divided Gaul, the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks, Theodoric's relations were more varied and less uniformly amicable.

The Visigoths now held, not only the fair quadrant of France between the Loire and the Pyrenees, but also the greater part of Provence, besides the whole of Spain, except the north-western angle, which was still occupied by an independent Suevic monarchy. This powerful people, mindful of the old 'brotherly covenant,' was friendly to the Ostrogothic ruler of Italy, as it had been to its Ostrogothic invader. Their king Alaric II, the son-in-law of Theodoric, had mounted the throne in the year 485. He was a man of whom we hear no unfavourable testimony, but who seems not to have possessed the harsh energy of his father Euric, far less the dash and originality of his mighty namesake Alaric the Great. The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain.
Alaric II,
485-507.

Between the dominions of Theodoric and his Visigothic son-in-law lay the goodly land which owned the sway of the Burgundians. Their domain, considerably more extensive than when we last viewed it on the eve of Attila's invasion¹, now included the later provinces of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Dauphiné, besides Savoy and

¹ Vol. ii. p. 123.

BOOK IV. the greater part of Switzerland—in fact the whole
 CH. 9. of the valleys of the Saone and the Rhone, save that for the last hundred miles of its course the Visigoths barred them from the right bank and from the mouths of the latter river.

King Gundobad. Gundobad, whom we met with twenty-one years ago in Rome¹ hanging on to the fortunes of his uncle Ricimer, wearing the robe of the Patrician, and even creating an emperor of his own, the insignificant Glycerius, returned, as we then saw, to his own country in 474, probably on the death of his father Gundiok, leaving his hapless client-emperor in the lurch. According to the frequent usage of these Teutonic nations, the kingdom of Gundiok was divided between his four sons; but these four had now been reduced by death to two, Gundobad and Godegisel. Gundobad, the first-born and the more powerful, ruled at Lyons and Vienne, while Godegisel held his court at Geneva.

His brothers
 Godegisel

and Hilperik.

But the family of one of the dead brothers was destined to exert a more powerful influence over the fortunes of Gaul than either of the surviving kings. Hilperik, whose capital had been Lyons, and who died apparently between 480 and 490, had, as some authors conjecture², married a wife

¹ Vol. ii. p. 489.

² This is the conjecture of Binding (p. 119) and of some others. Jahn (ii. 37) argues strongly that Caretene was the wife of Gundobad himself. It seems to me to be but guess against guess: but Binding's guess is slightly more probable, because the inscription certainly suggests the idea of a widow, and Gundobad undoubtedly lived ten years after the death of

Caretene, whose virtues and whose Catholic or-
thodoxy are recorded in an inscription still to be
seen in her husband's capital. Caretene, whose
fervour of fasting and whose gentle persuasive in-
fluence on her harsh husband are alluded to in the
letters of Sidonius¹, as well as in this inscription,
was allowed by her Arian husband to bring up her
children—they were only daughters—in the
Catholic faith which she herself professed. One
of these daughters, Hrothchilde, whose name his-
tory has softened into Clotilda,* was dwelling, as an
orphan ward, at the court of her uncle Gundobad,
when there came thither on business of State
frequent embassies from Clovis king of the Franks.
The ambassadors on their return home used to
praise to their master the grace and accomplish-
ments of the young princess. He sent to ask for her
hand, which, in the year 492 or 493, was accorded, not
perhaps very willingly, by the Burgundian king.

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

His daugh-
ter Clo-
tilda.

This marriage of the king of the Franks (whether
we call him Chlodovech, Hlodwig, Luduin, Louis,
Caretene. The question is only important in its bearing on
the cruelties alleged to have been practised by Gundobad on the
family of Hilperik.

¹ In writing to Patiens, vi. 12, he says: 'Omitto te . . . sic abste-
mium judicari ut constet indesinenter . . . *reginam laudare je-
junia*;' to Thaumastus, v. 7, after describing the danger of his
brother Apollinaris from the anger of 'magister militum Chil-
pericus victoriosissimus vir' (v. 6), he adds: 'Sane, quod princi-
paliter medetur afflictis, *temperat Lucumonem nostrum Tanaquil
sua*, et aures mariti virosa susurrorum faece completas . . . eru-
derat: . . . si modo quamdiu praesens potestas Lugdunensem
Germaniam regit, nostrum suumque *Germanicum praesens Agrip-
pina moderetur*.'

Theodoric's Relations with Gaul.

OK 1

ged
ties of
lobad
family.

(is) with the young Catholic orphan of the house of Hilperik of Burgundy prepared the way for the Frankish Empire, and for events which changed the face of Europe. For she, mindful of the training received from the devout Caretene, and hostile to the Arian faith of her father and uncles, determined to win over her heathen husband, not merely to Christianity, as the other Teuton conquerors understood it, but to orthodoxy. Later ages have believed that she entered the palace of Clovis filled with thoughts of terrible revenge against Gundobad and his family. When, a generation later, her own sons inflicted terrible calamities on the royal house of Burgundy, the idea perhaps occurred to some courtly bard of representing these cruelties as mere retaliation for the atrocities which *their* mother's father and his house had suffered at the hands of Gundobad. Accordingly, Hilperik was alleged to have been slain with the sword; his wife, with a stone tied round her neck, to have been thrown into the water; his two daughters to have been banished; his sons (of whose very existence there is no other trace) to have met death from the hands of the same cruel relative. There is some reason to think that all this, though set forth¹ in the pages of Gregory of Tours, who lived but a century after the death of Hilperik, is mere untrustworthy legend. If Caretene was really the wife of Hil-

¹ Except so far as the two sons are concerned. They do not appear till a century later, in Fredegarius.

perik, we see from the epitaph at Lyons that she survived him at least fifteen years, dying in the year 506. Moreover a letter to Gundobad from Avitus, the Catholic bishop of Vienne, no flatterer of the king, but rather, if the anachronism may be permitted, leader of the Constitutional Opposition in the Burgundian realm, while condoling with his sovereign on the death of a daughter, refers to his earlier domestic afflictions, and reminds him with what 'ineffable piety' he had mourned the deaths of his brothers [Hilperik and Godomar¹]. It seems in the highest degree unlikely that such a letter could have been addressed by its author to the avowed murderer of Hilperik².

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

¹ The words of Avitus (Ep. v.) are, 'Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera germanorum, sequebatur fletum publicum universitatis afflictio.' I take the quotation and the whole argument for the innocence of Gundobad from Binding (*Burgund.-Roman. Königreich*, i. 114-119). It will be seen that the identification of Caretene with the widow of Hilperik is to some extent conjectural, but I think his arguments are conclusive in its favour.

² Jahn (i. 548, and Introduction, p. v.) maintains the truth of Gregory's story, and accuses Binding of 'Hypercritik' for rejecting it. There is too little evidence on either side to enable us to come to a satisfactory conclusion, but to me Gregory's story seems in the highest degree legendary and improbable. The precise correspondence between the cruelties practised upon Clotilda's family and those practised by her sons looks suspicious. And then, how intensely improbable that Clotilda should nurse her revenge for thirty-three years, to let it fall at last, not on the actual murderer Gundobad, but on his—as far as she was concerned—innocent son! How many opportunities had she, especially in 500, to behold the vengeance, which her pious soul is represented as thirsting for, executed upon the real enemy, by the husband to whom her wish was

BOOK IV. When Clovis married Clotilda he was aged
 CH. 9. twenty-seven, and had been reigning for twelve
 Birth of years. Seven years before, he had by his over-
 Clovis, throw of the Roman kinglet Syagrius¹ advanced
 466. from Flanders into the valley of the Seine; and, at
 Accession, the accession of Theodoric, we must probably think
 481. of his dominions as touching the Visigothic kingdom
 Defeat of of his dominions as touching the Visigothic kingdom
 Syagrius, at the Loire, and the Burgundian kingdom on the
 486. Catalaunian plains, comprising in fact already one
 Marriage, third, but not the fairest nor the richest third, of
 493 (?). Gaul. This portentous growth of the Frankish
 power in twelve years was but an augury of the
 yet mightier extensions which should take place
 when the prayers of the Catholic Clotilda should
 be accomplished, and her husband should accept
 the faith of the great mass of the Roman pro-
 vincials.

Theodoric
 seeks the
 sister of
 Clovis in
 marriage.

The statesmanlike vision of Theodoric saw the ne-
 cessity of including the Frankish lord of Soissons
 in his system of family alliances. At the very
 outset of his reign² he sought for and obtained the
 hand of Audefreda, the sister of Clovis, who bore

law! Why does she let all these slip, and allow the murderer
 himself to sink into a quiet grave, only, in her own old age, to
 wreak a diabolical revenge on his children and grandchildren?
 In the interests of Clotilda's saintship (and sanity) it is certainly
 to be desired that Gregory's story should be, what I believe it
 to be, mere ecclesiastical romancing.

¹ Son of Aegidius, and the German-speaking correspondent
 of Sidonius (see vol. ii. pp. 444 and 357).

² As Amalasuntha was married to Eutharic in 515, it is im-
 probable that the marriage of which she was the issue was
 much, if at all, later than 495.

him one daughter, his only legitimate child Amalasuntha¹. Providence, as we have seen, denied him a son, while a whole clan of martial sons and grandsons filled the palace of the Frankish king. This difference had much to do with the very different duration of the political systems reared by the two kings.

The course of our narrative takes us back for a short time to consider the internal affairs of Italy after Odovacar's death. We are told by one chronicler that 'all his army wherever they could be found, and all his race, perished with him²;' by another, that 'all his colleagues who ministered to the defence of the kingdom were put to death³.' These statements are almost certainly exaggerated, if not altogether untrue. Certainly the after-life of Theodoric shows that he was not a man given to needless bloodshed. But he did issue one edict, an edict which he was wise enough to be persuaded to cancel, and which shows, it must be admitted, that the fierce bitterness of

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

Course pursued by Theodoric towards the adherents of Odovacar.

¹ The Anonymus Valesii makes the mother of the other two daughters of Theodoric a wife who died before his accession to the throne. Jordanes, probably copying Cassiodorus, calls them 'naturales ex concubina, quas genuisset adhuc in Moesia filias, unam nomine Thiudigoto et aliam Ostrogotho.' Compare Freeman's note on 'Danish Marriages' (Norman Conquest, i. 624), and the remarks made as to the similar marriage of Theodoric's father. As with the Scandinavians, so with the Goths, notwithstanding their generally high moral tone, there seems to have been a certain vagueness in their practice as to the solemnisation of marriage-rites.

² Anonymus Valesii.

³ Cont. Prosperi.

BOOK IV. the struggle had not yet entirely faded from his
 CH. 9. mind.

Disqualify-
 ing edict
 for all Ro-
 man citi-
 zens who
 had not
 taken the
 side of
 Theodoric.

This edict was to the effect, that only those among the Roman population who could prove that they had been loyal to the cause of Theodoric should enjoy the full rights of citizens. His recent opponents, even had their services been rendered compulsorily to Odovacar, lost the power of disposing of their property by will and of bearing evidence in courts of justice¹. A most monstrous enactment, and one which showed that its author was still more familiar with the simple pastoral life led by his people in the plains of Moesia, than with the necessities of an old and complex civilisation, in which such a party-measure as this could not fail to work frightful injustice. The good Epiphanius, who had been busily engaged in repairing the ravages of war, and inviting the best of the citizens of surrounding towns to settle at Ticinum, heard the general lamentation of Italy, and was besought to make himself its exponent at the Court of Theodoric. He consented, on condition that Laurentius of Milan would share the burden with him. The two bishops journeyed together to Ravenna, and were received with all veneration by the King.

Epiphanius
 and Lau-
 rentius un-
 dertake a
 mission to
 the King.

And here let us observe for a moment, that we

* 'Ut illis tantum Romanae libertatis jus tribueret, quos partibus ipsius fides examinata junxisset: illos vero quos aliqua necessitas diviserat, ab omni jussit et testandi et ordinationum suarum ac voluntatum licentia submoveri' (Ennodius, *Vita Epiphanii*, p. 226, ed. Migne).

have in this embassy an excellent illustration of the way in which barbaric conquest forced the Church onwards in the path of temporal dominion. The edict against the adherents of Odovacar was a purely civil edict. Whether wise or foolish, it in no way specially concerned the Church, nor trenchd upon ecclesiastical privilege. Neither was it, like the revenge wreaked by Theodosius on the citizens of Thessalonica, an outrage upon humanity, a gross and obvious breach of the law of God. It was a very harsh and ill-conceived measure, but it related to matters which were entirely within the domain of the civil governor; and as such, we cannot imagine that either Ambrose or Eusebius would have felt himself entitled to remonstrate against it, nor that Theodosius or Constantine would have tolerated such an interference. Now, however, that a Barbarian, instead of a Roman, sits in the seat of power, the moderating influence of the ecclesiastic in purely political matters is eagerly invoked by the governed, and not repelled by the governor.

Epiphanius, being invited to state his case, congratulated 'the most unconquered prince' on the success which had crowned his arms. He reminded Theodoric of the promises which he had made to the Almighty when, under the walls of Ticinum, he had been attacked by the bands of the enemy, who greatly exceeded his own troops in number, but whom by heavenly aid he had then been enabled to overcome. By heavenly aid, for the very air seemed to serve

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
The Barbarians unconsciously helped the Church.

Epiphanius' speech.

BOOK IV. his purposes. When Theodoric required serene
 CH. 9.

weather for his operations, they were over-arched by an unclouded sky; when rain would help him more effectually, torrents fell. Now let him profit by the example of his predecessor. Odovacar fell because he ruled unrighteously. Might the present King—such was the prayer of Liguria—confirm to innocent men the blessings of the laws, even at the risk of some, who little deserved it, obtaining his protection. ‘To forgive sins is heavenly; to punish is an earthly thing.’

The Bishop was silent and the ‘most eminent King’ began to speak. When he opened his lips every heart was wrung with a fearful anxiety to know what would be his decision.

Theodoric's
 reply.

‘Oh, venerable Bishop!’ he said, ‘though your merits command my respect, and your many kindnesses to me in the time of confusion deserve my gratitude, yet the hard necessities of reigning make that universal forgiveness which you praise impossible. I have the divine warrant for the position which I here take up. Do we not read of a certain king¹, who, because he neglected to take the destined vengeance on the enemy of his people, was himself rejected by God? That man weakens and brings into contempt the divine judgments who spares his enemy when he is in his power. As for the patience of our Redeemer, of which you speak, that comes after the severity of the law has done its work. The wise surgeon first cuts deep

¹ No doubt Saul.

to remove the gangrened flesh, before he applies the healing liniment. By allowing criminals to go unpunished, we exhort the innocent to commit crime.

‘Nevertheless, since heaven itself bends to your prayers, the powers of earth must not disregard them. I consent that not a single head shall fall, since you may prevail with God that the minds of the most hardened offenders shall be turned from the perverseness of their way. Some few, however, of the chief incendiaries must be removed from their present dwellings, lest they rekindle the flame of civil discord.’

Theodoric then ordered the Quæstor Urbicus—a man who, we are told, surpassed Cicero in eloquence and Cato in integrity—to prepare a royal letter¹ embodying these concessions, which of course must have included the repeal of the civil disabilities of the vanquished party. The absolute honesty of Urbicus did not prevent him from so wording the decree that even the excepted cases were included in the amnesty, a difference which we must suppose that Theodoric’s imperfect knowledge of Latin prevented him from observing.

After the interview was ended, Theodoric called Epiphanius aside to express to him the sorrow with which he beheld the desolate state of Italy after the war, weeds and thorns filling all the fields², and especially ‘that mother of the human

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

The letter of amnesty.

Theodoric mentions the case of the captive Ligurians.

¹ Pragmaticum.

² ‘Vides universa Italiae loca originariis viduata cultoribus.

BOOK IV. harvest, Liguria, which used to rejoice in her
 CH. 9. numerous progeny of husbandmen,' now robbed of her children, and lying, through vast spaces of her territory, untouched by the plough, and with her vines trailing in the dust¹. All this was the work of the Burgundians, who, after the foray mentioned in the preceding chapter, had carried back great numbers of the Ligurians captives across the Alps. Theodoric, however, had gold, and would willingly unlock his stores for their ransoming, if Epiphanius, whose pleading voice none could resist, would himself intercede with Gundobad for their restoration.

Epiphanius undertakes a mission in their behalf to Gundobad, 494.

Epiphanius with tears of joy welcomed the commission conferred upon him by his prince. He could not help acknowledging how much the new sovereign 'surpassed the previous emperors, the rulers of his own race², not only in justice and in warlike deeds, but in pity for the sufferings of his

In tristitiam meam segetum ferax spinas atque injussa plantaria campus apportat: et illa mater humanae messis Liguria, cui numerosa agricolarum solebat constare progenies, orbata atque sterilis jejunum cespitem nostris monstrat obtutibus. Interpellat me terra quocunque respicio uberem vinetis faciem, cum aratris impexa contristat.'

¹ It is not necessary to believe, though Ennodius asserts it, that Theodoric here made a little display of learning by the remark that Oenotria, the ancient name of Italy, was derived from *oîvos*, 'wine.'

² 'Justitia prius an bellorum exercitatione, an quod his praestantius est, *omnes retro imperatores* te pietate superasse commemorem? Habes unde *gentis nostrae rectores* accuses.' The passage is interesting, as showing how far Theodoric was looked upon as continuing the line of the Roman emperors.

people. They had too often carried, or suffered the people to be carried, captive, whereas he was bent on redeeming them. If Victor, Bishop of Turin, might be joined with Epiphanius in the commission, he felt that he could safely answer for the result. The King assented, and 'the awful pontiff,' having said farewell and received the money for the ransom, departed upon his mission¹. It was the month of March; the Alpine passes were of course still covered with snow; but the brave old man faced the hardships of the road as cheerfully as when, twenty years before, he set forth upon his celebrated embassy to Euric². 'Not once,' we are told, 'did *his* feet slip upon the frozen snow, whose soul was founded upon the Rock.' He was so intent on fulfilling his mission that he tolerated with impatience even the halts for refreshment, and when his companions were appalled at the difficulties of the way, he alone knew no fear. At the fame of his approach, young and old, men and women, flocked from distant hamlets to get a sight of the venerable peace-maker. They brought with them generous offerings of food for the travellers. Epiphanius and his companions accepted what was absolutely necessary for their own wants, but bestowed the greater part on the poor of the district. As one of those companions was Ennodius himself,

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

494.

The journey across the Alps.

¹ 'At *tremendus* pontifex, dicto vale, discessit.' In the course of his reply he said something to the King about David cutting off the skirt of Saul's robe, but the application of the remark is not obvious.

² See vol. ii. p. 503.

BOOK IV. the biographer of the Saint, we have the satisfac-
 CH. 9. tion of knowing that every incident characteristic
 494- of life and manners in the story of this legation is
 from the pen not only of a contemporary, but of
 an eye-witness.

When the deputation reached Lyons, Rusticus, the successor of Bishop Patiens, and a man who had always served the interests of the Church, when still an official of the State and not a bishop, came forth to meet them, and gave them a sketch of the crafty character of the King¹, which put Epiphanius on his guard and caused him to rehearse the speech which he was about to deliver before him.

. When, however, King Gundobad heard of the Bishop's approach he at once said to his servants, 'That is a man whose character and whose countenance I have ever associated with those of the blessed martyr St. Laurence; enquire when he is willing to see me, and invite him accordingly.'

Interview
with Gun-
dobad.

The day of audience came. The courtiers flocked in crowds to see the man whose eloquence had conquered so many conquerors. Victor was invited to commence the proceedings, but he courteously threw off upon his companion the weight of the harangue.

Epipha-
nius'
speech.

'Most worthy Sovereign,' said Epiphanius, 'only an unutterable love for you has forced me thus to

¹ 'Quae erant astutiae regis, edocuit.' Binding resents Dahn's calling his hero 'der zweideutige Gundobad,' but I think this expression justifies the phrase.

wage war upon time and nature, to dare the perils of the avalanche, to thread my way through forests paved with snow, to leave my foot-prints on the ice-fields, where even the foot is clasped by the all-binding frost. But when I see two excellent kings thus situated, one asking what the other has not yet granted, how can I refrain from setting before them the testimony of the heavenly word, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Divide this promise between you; weigh it out in equal scales; nay, rather do thou press in and claim more than the half of it for thyself, by letting the captives whom he wishes to redeem, go forth free of charge. Despise the ransom-money which he offers, and which he has sent by me. That money, if scorned, will make thine armies wealthy; if accepted, it will make them beggars.

'Hear, oh King, the words of that Italy for whom you once fought. "How often," she says, "did you on my behalf oppose your mailed breast to the enemy! How often did you toil in counsel that I might be kept free from invasion, that my sons might not be carried captive, whom now you have carried captive yourself!" Even when they were being dragged from their homes, the matron, wringing those helpless hands that were chained to her neck, thought of thee as one who would avenge her. The fair young girl, struggling to preserve her honour, thought of thee as one who would applaud her victory. The simple husbandmen, those hardy children of the soil, accustomed to ply

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CH. 9.

494.

the heavy mattock, now, when their necks were tied together with thongs and their hands were bound in manacles, said, "Are not you *our* Burgundians? See to it, how you shall answer for this before your pious King. How often have the hands which you presume to bind, paid tribute to your lord and ours¹! We know right well that he never ordered these wicked deeds." Yea, many and many a one had to pay for his confidence in thee with his life, being struck down for some too haughty word to his captors.

'Oh! restore these honest hearts to their country; then will they still be thine. Fill that Liguria, which thou knowest so well, with happy cultivators, and empty her of thorns and thistles. So may a long succession of thy sons stand at the helm of the Burgundian state, and thou live again in their glories. It is not strangers who ask this of thee. The lord of Italy is joined to thee now by the tie of kindred: let the wedding-gift to Sigismund's bride be the freedom of the captives; the wedding-gift of thy son to her and to Christ.' Having thus spoken he and Victor arose and went to the King, laid their heads upon his breast, and wept.

The reply of Gundobad, who was, we are told,

¹ 'Quoties quas ligare praesumitis, manus domino communi tributa solverunt!' It is chiefly on these words that Binding (p. 98) founds his theory of a formal cession of Liguria by Odovacar to Gundobad. But I think that Gundobad's relations to North Italy during the lifetime of his uncle Ricimer, and for a year after his death, are perhaps sufficient to explain them.

‘wealthy in speech and rich in all the resources of eloquence,’ practically amounted to an enunciation of the maxim of modern Gaul, ‘*À la guerre comme à la guerre.*’ ‘It might suit this bright Christian star to inculcate the law of kindness towards an adversary, and of moderation even in warfare, but the statesman had to remember the quite different maxims by which the world is governed. The rule of warriors is, that everything which is not lawful in peace becomes lawful in war¹. Your business is to cut up your adversary’s power root by root, and so gradually detach him from his kingdom. This had Gundobad done to his adversary. He had repaid him scorn for scorn; when mocked with the semblance of a treaty, he had forced his secret opponent to show himself an open foe². Now however, by divine permission, a peace had been established between them, which, he hoped, would be a long-lasting one. If these holy men would return to their homes he would consider what course it might be best to take, for the welfare of his kingdom and the safety of his soul, and would decide upon his answer.’

When the bishops had departed the King called to him his councillor Laconius, a man of high—

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

494.

Gundobad's reply.

Gundobad takes counsel with Laconius.

¹ ‘Statuta sunt dimicantium, quidquid non licet, tunc licere.’

² ‘Reposui regi partium illarum contumeliam quam putas illatam. Ludificatus specie foederis nihil egi studiosius, nisi ut, quod est cautelae, assertos inimicos agnoscerem.’ The words are obscure, but coupled with what follows they seem to point to Theodoric, rather than to Odovacar, as the adversary of Gundobad.

BOOK IV. evidently Roman—birth, grandson of Consuls, of
 CH. 9. pure and pious life, one who was always ready to
 494. second every kind and generous impulse which he
 perceived in his sovereign. ‘Go,’ said the King to
 him, ‘hoist all your sails to the winds. After
 hearing that holy man Epiphanius, and seeing
 his tears, I am ready to grant all you desire.
 Prepare a decree in my name which shall make
 His deci- this bargain as tight as possible¹. All the Italians
 sion. who through fear of the Burgundian marauders,
 under stress of hunger, or by compact on the part
 of their prince² have come hither as captives, shall
 be at once liberated, free of charge. Those, how-
 ever, whom our subjects in the ardour of battle
 carried captive on their own private account, must
 pay a ransom to their masters, for it would only
 make future battles more bloody, if the soldier
 had not a hope of profiting by the ransom of his
 captives.’

Return of
 the exiles.

With joyful alacrity Laconius prepared the documents setting forth the royal indulgence³ and brought them to the Bishop, who embraced the bearer of so precious a gift. Soon the news spread abroad, and you would have thought Gaul was being emptied of its peasants, so great a num-

¹ ‘Vade, pleno pectore dicta sententias, per quas pactionis illius durissime nexus irrumpas.’ Surely ‘irrumpas’ here is owing to some corruption of the text?

² Odovacar?

³ ‘Impiger ille verborum saltibus indulgentiae species aut formas exposuit.’ What does Ennodius mean by ‘verborum saltibus’?

ber flocked from all the cities of Sapaudia¹ to thread the passes of the Alps for their return.

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

Stripped of all exaggeration, the recital of Ennodius testifies that he himself, who was sent by the Bishop to the governors of the fortresses with the orders of release, in one day procured the liberation of 400 captives from Lyons alone, and that in all more than 6000 persons returned to their own land. Apparently the treasure confided by Theodoric to Epiphanius was all needed for the ransom of those who were in private hands, and was even supplemented by the pious offerings of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, and Syagria, a devout lady—possibly a daughter of the slain ‘King of Soissons’—who was looked upon as a living treasury for the Church’s needs.

494.

A visit to Geneva, to the Burgundian King Godegisel, was needed in order to obtain the same concession from him which had been already granted by his brother of Lyons. Then Epiphanius set forth accompanied by the rejoicing host of his redeemed captives. They went apparently by the way of the Col de Lauteret and the Col de Genève². As they went, the multitude sang hymns of praise to God and the Bishop, who seemed to their excited imaginations another Elijah, just ready to ascend to heaven in a chariot of fire. The

Epiphanius
visits
Geneva.The exiles
acclaim
Epiphanius.

¹ Savoy, but including more than modern Savoy.

² He went by Tarantasia, in the valley of the Isère above Grenoble, and there he healed a woman with an unclean spirit.

BOOK IV. Bishop returned to Ticinum in the third month
 CH. 9. after he had quitted his home.

494. The mind of Epiphanius, however, was still beset
 with cares for the fortunes of the restored captives.
 They had returned as beggars to their native land,
 and the lot of those who had once held high station
 among them was especially hard. It seemed as
 if they were to be still as miserable, but less pitied
 than when they were in the hand of the enemy.
 An appeal to Theodoric was the natural remedy;
 yet Epiphanius would not make that appeal in
 person, lest it might seem as if he were claiming
 from the King those thanks, and that distinguished
 reception, which were the rightful meed of his ser-
 vices in Gaul. He seconded, however, the prayers
 of the petitioners, and by his letters on their behalf
 obtained that relief for each which was necessary.
 The precise mode in which Theodoric helped these
 returned exiles to stock their farms and recom-
 mence the operations of husbandry we are not
 informed of, interesting as such a detail would
 have been.

Epiphanius
 again visits
 Ravenna,
 to seek for
 a reduction
 of taxation.

About two years afterwards he again journeyed
 to Ravenna, to obtain a relief from taxes for his
 province, which had suffered, and apparently was
 still suffering, from a 'plague of great waters.'
 His admiring biographer thus addresses him in the
 recollection of that journey: 'Never did thy limbs,
 though weakened by disease, prove unequal to
 the task imposed upon them by thy soul. Cold,
 rains, the Po, fastings, sailings, danger, thunder-

storms, the bivouac without a roof on the banks of the river, the doubt of reaching harbour in that inundated land, were all sweet to thy virtue which rejoiced in its triumph over these obstacles¹. Arrived at the court of Theodoric, he pleaded with him to show his confidence in the security of his dynasty, by a remission of taxation which would assuredly one day benefit his successors; and said, in words which Theodoric seems to have adopted for his own, 'The peasant's wealth is the wealth of a good ruler².' The King replied that, although the 'immense expenses' of the State³ made it difficult to forego any part of the revenue, and notwithstanding the necessity of bestowing regular gifts on the Gothic defenders of the kingdom⁴, he would, in testimony of his esteem and gratitude to the petitioner, remit two-thirds of the taxes for the current year. The remaining third must be paid, else would the straitness of the treasury bring about in the end greater evils than those which Epiphanius was now seeking to remove.

With this concession in his hands, the Bishop hastened to return home. He had a suspicion that his end was not far off; a thought which did

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CH. 9.

It is
granted.

Death of
Epipha-
nius,
497.

¹ 'Frigus, pluviae, Padus, jejunia, navigatio, periculum, tonitrua, sine tecto mansio in ripis fluminis, incerti pene sine terra portus[?], virtuti tuae dulcia fuerunt et grata successui.'

² 'Boni imperatoris est possessoris opulencia.' Notice the expression *imperatoris*.

³ 'Licet nos immanium expensarum pondus illicitet.'

⁴ This, I think, must be the meaning of 'et pro ipsorum quiete legatis indesinenter munera largiamur.'

BOOK IV. not occur to any of the multitudes who flocked
 CH. 9. to visit him. His own presentiment, however, was

497.

a true one. The snowy air of Ravenna had prepared the way for a fatal attack of catarrh which seized him on his way home, at Parma¹. The people of Ticinum saw with consternation the return of their beloved bishop as a dying man. They stood in the forum, whispering and panic-stricken, and thinking that the end of the world was at hand if Epiphanius was to be taken from them. On the seventh day after his entry into Ticinum he died, having on his lips the triumphant song of the wife of Elkanah—'My heart rejoiceth in the Lord, mine horn is exalted in the Lord: because I rejoice in thy salvation.' He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age and the thirtieth of his episcopate: certainly one of the noblest characters of his time, and a man who deserved a better biographer than the one who has fallen to his lot, the wordy and vapid Ennodius.

Clovis's engagement with the Alamanni, 496.

The death of Epiphanius occurred in the year 497. We retrace our steps one year, to notice a very important event of 496. In that year, at some place unknown², but near the banks of the

¹ 'Ut Parmam tamen ejusdem viae ingressus est civitatem, continuo eum coagulatus in vitalibus humor infudit, *quem catharrum medici vocant*: qui se medullitas inserens in ruinam publicam serviebat.'

² The identification of this battle-site with Zulpich near Cologne is now generally abandoned. It rested on a misunderstanding of Gregory of Tours (ii. 37), who speaks of a battle fought with the Alamanni by a quite different Frankish chief,

Rhine, and probably not far from Strasburg, Clovis met the Alamannic hosts in battle. Both nations were yet heathen, both perhaps equally barbarous. Both had felt the heavy hand of Julian, while the Empire still stood. Both had pressed in, when the Empire could no longer keep them at bay; the Frank, as we have seen, through the woods of Ardennes and across the flat lands of Picardy, to the Seine, to the Loire, and to the Catalaunian plains; while the Alamanni oversprang the too long dreaded *limes*, stormed the camp of the Saalburg on the heights of Taunus, and settled themselves in the lovely land, still crowded with Roman villas and rich with Roman vines, which was watered by the Neckar and the Main, and which sloped down to the right bank of the Middle Rhine. Which now of these two nations was to speak this word of power in the regions of the Rhine? That was the doubtful question which the issue of this day was to decide. Clovis had been intending to cross the Rhine, but the hosts of the Alamanni came upon him, as it seems, unexpectedly and forced a battle on the left bank of the river. He seemed to be overmatched, and the horror of an impending defeat overshadowed the Frankish king. Then, in his despair, he bethought himself of the God of Clotilda. Raising his eyes to heaven he

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
496.

The vow of
Clovis.

‘*apud Tulbiacense oppidum.*’ The fact that Clovis, as we are told in the life of S. Vedast, returned by way of Toul to Rheims, points to the neighbourhood of Strasburg as the probable site of the battle. (This is remarked by von Schubert.)

BOOK IV. said, 'Oh Jesus Christ, whom Clotilda declares to
CH. 9.
 496. be the Son of the living God, who art said to give help to those who are in trouble and who trust in thee, I humbly beseech thy succour! I have called on my gods and they are far from my help. If thou wilt deliver me from mine enemies, I will believe in thee, and be baptized in thy name.' At this moment, a sudden change was seen in the fortunes of the Franks. The Alamanni began to waver, they turned, they fled. Their king, according to one account, was slain; and the nation seems to have accepted Clovis as its over-lord.

His baptism, Christmas, 496. Clovis hastened back to his queen, and told her the story of his vow. At the Christmas festival, he stood in the white robes of a catechumen in the basilica of Rheims, and heard from the mouth of Saint Remigius the well-known words, 'Bow thy neck in meekness, oh Sicambrian! Adore what thou hast burned, and burn what thou hast adored.'

Effect of Clovis's conversion. The mere conversion to Christianity of a Teutonic ruler of a Roman province was an event of comparatively little importance. It was but a question of time, a generation sooner or a generation later, when all the men of this class should renounce their hope of the banquets of Walhalla for an inheritance in the Christian City of God. But that the king of the Franks should be baptized into that form of Christianity which was professed by Clotilda and Remigius, that he should enter into devout and loyal communion with the Catholic Church,

was an event indeed of world-wide significance, well worthy of the congratulations which it called forth from Pope and Metropolitan, from Anastasius of Rome and from Avitus of Vienne. The title 'Eldest Son of the Church' borne by the kings of France, while she still had kings, perpetuated, to our own day, the remembrance of the rapture with which the hard-pressed and long-suffering Catholics of the Empire greeted the fact that at length force, barbarian force, was coming over to their side. They had been oppressed and trampled upon long enough. Carthaginian Hilderic had cut out the tongues of their confessors. Euric of Toulouse had shut up their churches and turned cattle into their church-yards. But now the young and irresistible conqueror beyond the Loire would redress the balance. Clovis, and his sons, and the nobles who would inevitably follow their example, from above, with the great mass of patient orthodox Roman provincials from below, would yet make an end of the Arian oppression.

In the presence of this new arrangement of forces, with the certainty that henceforth every bishop and every priest throughout Western Europe would be a well-wisher, open or concealed, of the Frankish monarchy, there should undoubtedly have been a close league for mutual defence formed between the four great Arian and Teutonic monarchies, the Visigothic, the Burgundian, the Ostrogothic, and the Vandal. The statesmanlike mind of Theodoric must have perceived this truth.

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
496.

The Arian states should have combined for mutual defence, but did not.

BOOK IV. To some extent, as we shall see, he endeavoured
CH. 9.
496. to act upon it, but, from one cause or another, with no great persistency or success. Both he and his Burgundian kinsman belonged to the class of tolerant Arians: in fact, Gundobad seemed at times more than half ready to turn Catholic himself. Possibly they felt themselves out of sympathy with the narrower and bitterer Arianism which reigned at the courts of Toulouse and Carthage. And, what was of more importance, diplomatists were wanting to them. Precisely the very men who would in any other matter have acted as their skilful and eloquent representatives, travelling like Epiphanius from court to court, and bringing the barbarian sovereigns to understand each other, to sink their petty grievances, and to work together harmoniously for one common end, precisely these men were the Catholic prelates of the Mediterranean lands to whom it was all-important that no such Arian league should be formed. It has been forcibly pointed out by a historian of the Burgundians¹ that, whereas all over the Roman world there was a serried array of Catholic bishops and presbyters, taking their orders from a single centre, Rome, feeling the interests of each one to be the interests of all, in lively and constant intercourse with one another, quick to discover, quick to disclose the slightest weak place in the organization of the new heretical kingdoms, of all this there was not the slightest

¹ Binding, 128.

trace on the other side. The Arian bishops took their fill of court favour and influence while it lasted, but made no provision for the future. They stood apart from one another in stupid and ignorant isolation. Untouched apparently by the great Augustinian thought of the world-encompassing City of God, they tended more and more to form local, tribal Churches, one for the Visigoths, another for the Vandals, another for the Burgundians. And thus in the end the fable of the loosened faggot and the broken sticks was proved true of all the Arian monarchies.

It seemed as if the first to fall would be the kingdom of the Burgundians. In the autumn of 499, Gundobad was aware that his younger brother, Godegisel of Geneva, was engaged in a treacherous correspondence with Clovis, the object of which was the expulsion of Gundobad, and the elevation of Godegisel as sole king of the Burgundians, probably on condition of ceding some territory to his Frankish ally. Sorely perplexed and doubtful of the result, he was, as has been said, almost prepared to avert the blow by himself joining the Catholic Church. The two leading bishops in his dominions—Stephen of Lyons and Avitus of Vienne—besought him to convoke his prelates to a conference, at which they might by disputation establish the Catholic verity. Could the King have seen the letter written three years before by Avitus to congratulate Clovis on his conversion, the letter in which he speaks of Gundobad as 'king indeed of

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

499.

Gundobad the Burgundian in danger, from his brother Godegisel, and Clovis.

He turns to the Catholic bishops for help.

BOOK IV. his own people but your dependant,' and declares,
CH. 9. 'we are affected by your good-fortune; whensoever
 you fight, we conquer¹,' he might have been less disposed than he was to maintain friendly relations with this eloquent and brilliant prelate but secret enemy of his crown and people. As it was, he said to the bishops, with some force of argument, 'If your faith is the true one, why do not your colleagues prevent the King of the Franks from declaring war against me, and leaguings himself with my enemies? Where a man covets that which belongs to another, there is no true faith.' Avitus cautiously replied, 'I know not why the King of the Franks should do this; but I know that the Scripture says that states often come to ruin because they will not obey the law of God. Turn with your people to that law, and you will have peace.' Not in this sentence only, but throughout this curious colloquy, there ran an under-current of assurance, that if Gundobad would reconcile himself to the Church, the Church would guarantee his safety from the attacks of Clovis. The King on this occasion replied with some heat, 'How? Do I not recognise the law of God? But I will not worship three Gods!'

A debate
 between
 Catholics
 and Arians
 decided on,
 2 Sept.
 499.

However, the bishops obtained their request; and it was fixed that a public disputation should take place at Lyons on the festival of St. Justus (2nd September); the same festival, half-religious, half-

¹ 'Apud dominum meum suae quidem gentis regem sed militem vestrum. . . . Tangit etiam nos felicitas: quotiescumque illic pugnatis vincimus.' (Aviti Epistola xli.)

popular, of which Sidonius gives so lively an account in connection with his epigram on the towel¹. The King only stipulated that the discussion should not take place before a large assembly of the people lest there should be a breach of the peace.

The debate, which lasted two days, took the usual course of such disputations where neither party can enter, or wishes to enter, in the slightest degree into the difficulties and the convictions of its opponent, but each is simply bent on shouting its own shibboleth. Avitus made a long speech, Ciceronian in its style, proving the Athanasian Creed out of Holy Scripture. Boniface, the Arian champion, replied with the taunt of polytheism, to which already the King's words had given the cue. Next day Aredius, a high functionary of the Court and a Catholic, met the bishops of his party and besought them to discontinue the discussion, which was only embittering religious hatred, and was, besides, disagreeable to the King. They looked upon him as a lukewarm and time-serving believer, and refused to take his advice. The King renewed his complaints of the hostile machinations of Clovis, and now for the first time mentioned the dreaded defection of his brother. The bishops answered, that if Gundobad would only turn Catholic it would be easy to arrange an alliance with Clovis. They then proceeded to reply to the charge of polytheism. Boniface, who is

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
499.

The Collatio Episcoporum.

¹ Ep. v. 17. See vol. ii. p. 314.

BOOK IV. represented as vanquished in the argument, could
 CH. 9.
 499. only shriek out his invectives against the worshippers of three Gods, till he had shouted himself hoarse. Then the orthodox bishops proposed an appeal to miracle. Both parties should repair to the grave of St. Justus, and ask the saint which confession of faith was the true one, and a voice from the grave should decide the question. The Arians replied that such a course would be as displeasing to God as Saul's attempt to raise Samuel from the tomb, and that they for their part would rest their case on nothing else than the appeal to Holy Scripture.

The debate
 accom-
 plishes
 nothing.

Thus the *Collatio Episcoporum* broke up. Nothing had been accomplished by it. Gundobad had not been persuaded, perhaps had not seen, among his own chief nobles, sufficient pliability of faith to make him venture on declaring himself a convert. He, however, took Stephen and Avitus into his inner chamber, embraced them, and begged them to pray for him. As they left him they meditated on the words 'No man can come unto Me, unless the Father which hath sent Me draw him.' Politically, there was nothing left but for the Arian and Athanasian to fight it out on the soil of Burgundy.

The war
 breaks out,
 500.

Early in the year 500 the storm broke. Gundobad, who had perhaps marched northwards in order to anticipate the junction of the two armies, was met by Clovis, and seems to have shut himself up in the strong *Castrum Divionense*. This place,

the modern Dijon, now made memorable to the traveller by the exquisite tombs of Jean-sans-Peur and Philippe-le-Bon, almost the last rulers of a separate Burgundy, was then an *urbs quadrata*, showing still to the barbarians what was the likeness of a camp-city of the Romans. The wall, strengthened with thirty-three towers, which surrounded the city, was thirty feet high, and, as we are told, fifteen feet thick. Large hewn stones formed the foundation and the lower courses, but the upper portions were built of smaller stones, probably of what we call rubble masonry. A stream, which to some extent added to the strength of the camp, flowed in under a bridge at the northern gate, traversed the city, and emerged from it at the southern gateway¹. Here, apparently, Gundobad made his stand—his unsuccessful stand. The Frankish host, aided by the men of Geneva, overcame the Burgundians of Lyons. Gundobad fled to Avignon, on the very southernmost border of his dominions, and there, clinging perhaps to the protection of his Visigothic neighbour, he remained for some months in obscurity.

Godegisel and his Frankish ally marched through the length and breadth of the kingdom, and the younger brother dreamed that he had reunited the whole of the dwellings of his people under his own sway. Discontent, however, was working beneath the surface; and, possibly on the departure northward of Clovis and his host, it broke out.

¹ Gregory of Tours, iii. 19.

BOOK IV. Gundobad with a few followers, whose number
 CH. 9. daily augmented, crept cautiously up the valley of
 500. the Rhone, and at length, appearing before his old
 Gundobad returns and besieges his brother capital Vienne, besieged his brother therein. Gode-
 in Vienne. gisel, whose supply of provisions was small, ordered
 all the poorer inhabitants to be expelled from the
 town. Among them was an ingenious man, a
 Roman doubtless by birth, who had had the charge
 of the chief aqueduct of Vienne. Going to the tent
 of Gundobad he confided to him the existence of
 a certain ventilation hole¹, by which troops could
 be introduced through this aqueduct into the heart
 of the city. Gundobad followed the engineer's
 advice. He himself headed the detachment of
 troops which went through the aqueduct; and in
 a few hours Vienne was his own again. With his
 own hand he slew the treacherous Godegisel, and,
 we are told, 'put to death, with many and exquisite
 torments, the senators [no doubt Roman nobles]
 and Burgundians who had been on his side².' The
 Frankish troops, which had been left to guard the
 newly-erected throne, he did not dare either to keep,
 or to dismiss to their homes. He accordingly sent
 them to his ally, the King of the Visigoths, who
 kept them for some time in honourable captivity
 at Toulouse.

Inactivity of Clovis. The inactivity of Clovis during these later
 events, by which the whole fruits of the victory

¹ Spiraculum.

² Marius of Aventicum, s. a. 500, and Gregory of Tours,
 ii. 33.

of Dijon were wrested from him, is left quite unexplained in the meagre annals of the time. There is some slight indication of Visigothic influence having been thrown on the side of Gundobad: but, though we have no evidence to adduce in support of it, we can hardly repress the conjecture that Theodoric, the father-in-law of Sigismund, heir of the Burgundian kingship, Theodoric, who from the provinces of Rætia and Liguria could, when summer was advanced, so dangerously operate on the flank of an army of Clovis descending the Rhone valley, must have been the real counterpoise to the Franks in the year 500, during Gundobad's war of Restoration. Whatever the cause, the restored King, who now wielded the whole might of the Burgundian nation, and was more powerful than any of his predecessors, was during the remaining sixteen years of his reign left unmolested by the Frank; nay even, as we shall see, was invited to join in the schemes of Frankish conquest, though on terms of partnership not unlike those which the Horse accepted from the Man, in the old fable.

In the early years of the new century, probably about 503 or 504, Clovis was again at war with his old enemies, the Alamanni. As the Frankish historian, Gregory, is silent about this campaign, we can only speak conjecturally as to its causes and its course. We can see, however, that king and people revolted against their Frankish overlord, that there were hints of treachery and broken faith,

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
500.

Clovis
again at
war with
the Ala-
manni.

BOOK IV. that Clovis moved his army into their territories
CH. 9. and won a victory, much more decisive, though

Their defeat and forced migration.

'Franconia.'

The Alamanni take refuge in Rætia.

Theodoric forbids Clovis to pursue them.

less famous, than that of 496. This time the angry King would make no such easy terms as he had done before. From their pleasant dwellings by the Main and the Neckar, from all the valley of the Middle Rhine, the terrified Alamanni were forced to flee. Their place was taken by Frankish settlers, from whom all this district received in the Middle Ages the name of the Duchy of Francia, or, at a rather later date, that of the Circle of Franconia.

The Alamanni, with their wives and children, a broken and dispirited host, moved southward to the shores of the Lake of Constance, and entered the old Roman province of Rætia. Here they were on what was held to be, in a sense, Italian ground; and the arm of Theodoric, as ruler of Italy, as successor to the Emperors of the West, was stretched forth to protect them. Clovis would fain have pursued them, would perhaps have blotted out the name of Alamanni from the earth.

But Theodoric addressed a letter¹ to his victorious kinsman, in which, while congratulating him on having aroused the long dormant energies of his people, and won by their means a triumph over the fierce nation of the Alamanni, having slain some and forced others humbly to beg for life, he warned him not to push his victory too far. 'Hear,' said he, 'the advice of one who has had much experience in matters of this nature. Those

¹ Variarum, ii. 41.

wars of mine have had a successful issue, over the ending of which, moderation has presided.' BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
Throughout the letter the tone is hardly so much of advice as of command, to the Frankish conqueror, to pursue his ruined foe no further.

The Alamanni gladly accepted the offered protection and dominion of Theodoric. The king of the Ostrogoths became their king, and they, still in their old heathen wildness, became his subjects, conforming themselves doubtless but imperfectly to the maxims of the Roman *civilitas*, but, for one generation at least, leaving the mountain-passes untraversed, and doing rough garrison duty for their king, between the Alps and the Danube. Eastern Switzerland, Western Tyrol, Southern Baden and Würtemberg, and South-western Bavaria probably formed this new Alamannis, which will figure in later history as the *Ducatus Alamanniae* or the Circle of Swabia¹. The Alamanni under Theodoric.

Alamannia = Swabia.

¹ These few paragraphs are a greatly condensed statement of the theory put forward, and in my judgment proved, by von Schubert in his monograph 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken,' Strassburg, 1884. The strong points in favour of the theory are—

I. The letter of Theodoric, composed by Cassiodorus and quoted above, which could not have been written in 496 or 497. I had come to this conclusion before I saw von Schubert's argument.

II. The strong language of Ennodius in his Panegyric on Theodoric: 'Quid quod a te *Alamannias generalitas* intra Italiae terminos sine detrimento Romanae possessionis inclusa est, cui evenit habere regem postquam meruit perdidisse? Facta est Latiaris custos imperii semper nostrorum populatione grassata, cui feliciter cessit fugisse patriam suam, nam sic adepta est soli

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

507.
de-
ced
Clovis
against
Alaric II
king of the
Visigoths,
7.

The next stroke from the heavy hand of Clovis fell upon the Visigothic kingdom, and it was a crushing one. In the year 507 the Frankish King announced to his warriors, possibly when they were all assembled at the Field of Mars, 'I take it very ill that these Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul. Let us go and overcome them with God's help, and bring their land under our rule.' These abrupt denunciations of war have not unfrequently been resorted to by Frankish sovereigns. We heard one of them in our own day, when, at the New Year's festivity of 1859, the Emperor of the French suddenly informed a startled Europe that his relations with his brother of Austria were not as good as he could desire.

theo-
doric's
efforts to
avert it.

In this case, rapid as was the action of Clovis, there was apparently¹ time for a brief and lively

nostri opulentiam,' etc. The words in italic can only mean the whole state of the Alamanni.

III. The words of Agathias (i. 6): *Τούτους* (sc. *τοὺς Ἀλαμαν-
νοὺς*) *δὲ πρότερον Θεωδέριχος ὁ τῶν Γόθων βασιλεὺς, ἥνικα καὶ τῆς
ξυμπάσης Ἰταλίας ἐκράτει, ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγὴν παραστησάμενος, κατήκοον
εἶχε τὸ φύλον.*

Against such a consensus of first-rate authorities as this, the mere silence of a writer like Gregory counts for very little.

¹ I say apparently, because I feel how much weight is due both to the authority and the arguments of Binding (p. 181), who, with Pallmann and some others, assigns the letters in question to an earlier date, and believes that they were for the time successful in averting war between Clovis and Alaric. This earlier date would also lessen the difficulty which arises from Theodoric's calling the two kings '*Regii juvenes.*' My chief reasons for not accepting it are, (1) that we have no hint in any of our authorities of such a threatened outburst before the actual one, and (2) that the Burgundo-Frankish

interchange of correspondence between Italy and Gaul. Theodoric, hearing of the threatened outbreak of hostilities, employed the pen of his eloquent Quæstor Cassiodorus to compose a series of letters¹, to all the chief persons concerned, to Alaric, to Clovis, to Gundobad, nay, even to the semi-barbarous kings of the tribes still tarrying in Germany, the Heruli, the Warni, the Thuringians², in order to avert by all possible means the dreaded encounter.

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
507.

To his Visigothic son-in-law Theodoric uttered a note of warning: 'Strong though you are in your own valour and in the remembrance of the great deeds of your forefathers, by whom even the mighty Attila was humbled, yet since your people's strength and aptitude for war may, by long peace, have been somewhat impaired, do not put everything to the hazard of a single action. It is only constant practice which can make the actual shock alliance, which, it is thought, makes it impossible to date the letter to Gundobad in 507, seems to me to have been *unsuspected by Theodoric*. It was, I imagine, the skill with which this secret was kept, that baffled all Theodoric's plans for assisting Alaric.

His letter
to Alaric,

¹ Variarum, iii. 1-4.

² The Thuringians were at this time settled in the country from the Main to the Elbe, the same which afterwards bore the name Thuringia, but with a wider extension. The Warni (whom Cassiodorus calls Guarni) probably occupied the country immediately north of the Thuringians, from the Harz Mountains to the Baltic. The Heruli had, perhaps, moved up the Danube after the collapse of the Rugian monarchy, and may have held its northern shore from Augsburg to Passau. There had, however, been wars between them and the Lombards which make it extremely difficult to fix their position at this time.

BOOK IV. of battle seem anything but terrible to man. Let
 CH. 9.

507.

to Gundo-
bad,

to the Ger-
man tribes,

not, then, your indignation at the conduct of Clovis blind you to the real interests of your nation. Wait till I can send ambassadors to the King of the Franks, and till I have endeavoured to make peace between two princes, both so nearly allied to me, one my brother and the other my son, by marriage.' To 'his brother Gundobad' Theodoric expressed his regrets that 'the royal youths' should thus rage against one another, his desire that they might listen to the counsels of reverend age, as represented by himself and Gundobad¹, and his proposal that a joint embassy from the three nations (Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Burgundians) should be addressed to Clovis, in order to re-establish peace between him and Alaric. The German chieftains, he reminded of the benefits and the protection which they, in past times, had received from Euric, the father of the now menaced prince. He expressed his conviction that this lawless aggression threatened equally every throne of a neighbour to Clovis, and begged them to join their ambassadors to his, in a summons to

¹ 'Nostrum est *Regios juvenes* objecta ratione moderari. . . . Vereantur senes, quamvis sint florida aetate ferventes.' Whatever date be assigned to the letter, these words are not without difficulty. Theodoric was born in 454, Clovis probably in 466, and Alaric II apparently not much later than 465 (since he does not seem to have been treated as a minor at his accession to the throne in 485). This would make the respective ages of the *senex* and the *juvenes* fifty-three, forty-two, and forty-one in A.D. 507. But relative youth and age are often spoken of in this puzzling way by historians.

the Frankish King to desist from the attack on BOOK IV.
the Visigoths, to seek redress for his alleged CH. 9.
wrongs from the law of nations [but where were 507.
the courts then, or where are they now, in which
that law is administered?]; if he would not obey
these counsels, then to prepare himself for the
combined onset of them all.

The letter to 'Luduin' (as Theodoric, or Cassio- to Clovis.
dorus, styles the King of the Franks¹) reiterates
the same thoughts, dwells on the miseries which
war inflicts upon the nations, declares that it is
the act of a hot-headed man to get his troops
ready for war at the very first embassy, and urges,
almost commands, the Frank to accept his medi-
ation. The letter contains the following passage,
which certainly went far to pledge Theodoric to
armed championship of his son-in-law: 'Throw A threat of
intervention.
away the sword, ye who wish to draw it for
my disgrace. It is in my right as a father, as a
friend, that I thus threaten you. He who shall
suppose that such monitions as ours can be treated
with contempt—a thing which we do not anti-
cipate—will find that he has to deal with us and
our friends, as his adversaries.'

Yet, in spite of all this correspondence and all The war
begins.
these embassies, directed by one who had been a
man of war from his youth, and who had a true

¹ The name of Clovis or Hlodwig seems to have presented peculiar difficulties to the Latin scribe. Cassiodorus (as above) calls it *Luduin*: Isidore (Chronicon, era 521) turns it into *Fluduius*. The form used by Gregory is *Chlodovechus*.

Theodoric's Relations with Gaul.

BOOK IV. statesman's eye to the necessities of the position,
CH. 9.

507.
Battle of Vouille. Alaric the Visigoth stood alone, and fell unaided. The Franks crossed the Loire; directed their march to Poitou: at the Campus Vogladensis, ten miles from Poitiers, the two armies met. Alaric would have played a waiting game, trusting to the eventual arrival of succours from his father-in-law; but the ignorant impetuosity of his troops, who vaunted that they were at least the equals in arms of the Franks, forced him to accept the

Defeat and death of Alaric II.

offered battle¹. Alaric fell, slain, it seems, by the hand of Clovis himself. His troops fled from the field of hopeless rout. Amalaric, the grandson of Theodoric, and the only legitimate child of the late King, was hurried away to Spain by his guardians. A few cities still held out for the Visigoths, but almost everywhere, from the Loire to the Pyrenees, the Frank roamed supreme. The religious fervour of Clovis was satisfied. That pious monarch would no longer be chagrined by seeing so large a part of Gaul in the hands of the Arians.

Gundobad in league with Clovis.

What was the cause of this sudden collapse of the great Arian confederacy and of Theodoric's entire failure to redeem his pledge, by championing his son-in-law? It seems probable that it is to be sought in the unexpected defection of Gundobad,

¹ So says Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, i. 12), and notwithstanding his imperfect knowledge of the campaign (he places the battle at Carcassonne), I think we need not reject this detail. *Oi Tερραροι* with him means the Franks.

who did not even remain neutral in the conflict, but positively allied himself with the Frankish invader. The reasons for this change of attitude are not fully known to us. Ever since the *Collatio Episcoporum*, Gundobad had been on increasingly friendly terms with the Catholic Episcopate, especially with the courtly Avitus. His first-born Sigismund, perhaps both his sons, had formally joined the Catholic communion. Some of the courtiers had followed their example. Gundobad himself, though to the day of his death he refused to abjure the faith of his forefathers, showed a willingness to do everything for the creed of his Roman subjects, except to make that one ignominious confession of hereditary error. He might perhaps also allege that in the catastrophe of 500 he had been left to fight his battles alone, and that he was under no obligation, for Alaric's sake, a second time to see the terrible Sicambrian devastating the Rhone-lands. Whatever the cause, it is clear that Burgundia went with Francia against Vesegothia in the fatal campaign; and it is highly probable that Theodoric did not know that this was to be her attitude till the very eve of the contest, and when it was too late for him to take measures for forcing his way past the territories of a hostile nation to the relief of his son-in-law¹.

¹ Binding points out, in this connection, that the name of the Roman Consul did not reach Lyons throughout the year 507, from which he infers that communication was interrupted

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

Claims of
Gesalic.

508 (?).

Defence of
Arles,
503-510.

Cæsarius
Bishop of
Arles.

At the death of Alaric the situation was further complicated by a division in the Visigothic camp. The child Amalaric, now a refugee in Spain, was, as has been said, the only legitimate representative of the fallen king. But Alaric had left a bastard son named Gesalic, now in early manhood, who, according to the lax notions about succession prevalent among the Teutonic peoples, might fairly aspire to the kingdom, if he could make good his claim by success. He appears, however, to have been but a feeble representative of his valiant forefathers¹. He lost Narbonne to Gundobad, and after a disgraceful rout, in which many of the Visigoths perished, he fled to Barcelona, whence, after four years of a shadowy reign, he was eventually expelled by the generals of Theodoric.

The great city of Arles, once the Roman capital of Gaul, maintained a gallant defence against the united Franks and Burgundians, and saved for generations the Visigothic rule in Provence and Southern Languedoc. Of the siege, which lasted apparently from 508 to 510, we have some graphic details in the life of St. Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, written by his disciples². This saint, who was born in Burgundian Gaul, had for years lain under sus-

between Italy and Burgundy. Italy did actually touch the Visigothic territory at the Riviera, but it was probably dangerous to try that road with a hostile power like the Burgundians on the flank.

¹ 'Sicut genere vilissimus, ita infelicitate et ignavia summus' (Isidori Chronicon, p. 720, ed. Grotius).

² Bollandist Acta Sanctorum, August 27.

picion of being discontented with the Gothic yoke, and had spent some time in exile at Bordeaux under a charge of treason. Released, and permitted to return to his diocese, he was busying himself in the erection of a convent, where holy women were to reside under the presidency of his sister Cæsaria, when the Franks and Burgundians came swarming around the city; and the half-finished edifice, which was apparently outside the walls, was destroyed by the ferocity of the barbarians.

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
508-510.

The siege dragged on and became a blockade. A young ecclesiastic, 'struck with fear of captivity and full of youthful fickleness,' let himself down the wall by a rope, and gave himself up to the besiegers. Not unreasonably the old suspicions as to the loyalty of Cæsarius revived. The Goths, and the Jews, who sided with the Goths, surrounded the church, clamouring that the Bishop had sent the deserter, on purpose to betray them to the enemy. 'There was no proof,' say his biographers, 'no regard to the stainless record of his past life. Jews and heretics crowded the precincts of the church, shouting out "Drag forth the Bishop! Let him be kept under strictest guard in the palace!" Their object was that he should either be drowned in the Rhone, or at least immured in the fort of Ugernum [one of the castles by the river, not far from Arles], till by hardship and exile his life was worn away. Meanwhile his church and his chamber were given up to be occupied by the Arians. One

He is suspected of communicating with the besiegers.

BOOK IV. of the Goths, in spite of the remonstrances of his
 CH. 9.
 508-510. comrades, dared to sleep in the saint's bed, but was smitten by the just judgment of God, and died the next day.

Cæsarius in confinement. 'A cutter (*dromo*) was then brought, and the holy man was placed in it that he might be towed up [to the above-named castle] past the lines of the besiegers. But as, by divine interposition, they were unable to move the ship, though tugging it from either shore, they brought him back to the palace, and there kept him in such utter seclusion that none of the Catholics knew whether he was dead or alive.

Treachery of a Jew. 'At length however there came a change. A certain Jew tied a letter to a stone and tried to fling it to the besiegers. In it he offered to betray the city to them on condition that the lives, freedom, and property of all the Jews were spared; and he indicated the precise spot in the walls, to which the besiegers were to apply their ladders. Fortunately, next day the enemy did not come so near the walls as usual. Hence the fateful letter was found, not by the Burgundians, but by the Goths, and thus the selfish cruelty of the Jews, hateful both to God and man, was exposed. Then was our Daniel, St. Cæsarius, drawn up from the den of lions, and the Jews his accusers, like the satraps of Darius, were sent to take his place.'

Cæsarius liberated.

— The brave defence of Arles enabled Theodoric still to intervene to save the remnants of the Visigothic monarchy in Gaul. This he could doubtless

do with the more success now that the embarrassing claim of Gesalic was swept away. In the spring of the year 508 he put forth a stirring proclamation to his people, prepared by Cassiodorus. 'We need but hint to our faithful Goths that a contest is at hand, since a warlike race like ours rejoices at the thought of the strife. In the quiet times of peace, merit has no chance of showing itself, but now the day for its discovery draws nigh. With God's help, and for the common good, we have decided on an invasion of Gaul. We send round our faithful Saio, Nandius, to warn you to come in God's name fully prepared for our expedition, in the accustomed manner, with arms, horses, and all things necessary for the battle, on the 24th of June¹.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
508.
Theodoric summons his troops to a campaign in Gaul, 508.

The Ostrogothic army advanced to the relief of the courageous garrison of Arles. Conspicuous among the generals, perhaps chief in command, was Tulum, who had recently shown in the war of Sirmium² that a Gothic lord of the bedchamber could deal as heavy blows as any trained soldier among the Byzantines or the Huns. The possession of the covered bridge which connected Arles with the east bank of the Rhone was fiercely contested, and in the battles fought for its capture and recapture, Tulum showed great personal courage, and received many honourable wounds.

The Ostrogothic army advances, commanded by Tulum.

But the united armies of Franks and Burgun-

¹ Cass. Var. i. 24.

² To be described in the next chapter.

Theodoric's Relations with Gaul.

BOOK IV. dians required much defeating ; and still the siege
CH. 9. of Arles was not raised, though its stringency may
508. have been somewhat abated, and though all Pro-
vence to the eastward of the city was probably
secured to Theodoric.

509. We have reason to believe that in the next year
Another Ostro- a bold and clever stroke of strategy was executed
gothic army in- by the Ostrogoths. An army under Duke Mammo
vades Bur- seems to have mounted the valley of the Dora-
gundy from Susa, crossed the Alps near Briançon, and de-
Aosta. scended into the valley of the Durance, plundering
the country as they proceeded. They thus threat-
ened to take the Burgundians in rear as well as in
front, and put them under strong compulsion to
return to defend their homes, in the region which
we now know as Dauphiné¹.

Victory of The- The decisive battle was perhaps not delivered
doric's troops, till the early part of 510. Then the Goths under
510 (?). Count Ibbas completely routed the united armies
of the Franks and Burgundians. If we may be-
lieve the boastful bulletin transcribed by Jordanes,
more than 30,000 Franks lay dead upon the field².
Certainly many captives were taken by the united
forces of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, since all
the churches and houses of Arles were filled with

¹ The plan of this campaign of 509 is deduced by Binding from some expressions in the correspondence of Avitus (Ep. 78), combined with the notice in the chronicle of Marius, 'Importuno consule Mammo Dux Gothorum partem Galliae deprædavit.'

² 'Non minore trofeo de Francis per Ibbam suum comitem in Galliis adquisivit, plus triginta millia Francorum in prælio caesa' (Jord. De Reb. Get. lviii).

their unkempt multitudes. St. Cæsarius gladly devoted the proceeds of the communion-plate, which he sold, to the redemption of some of these captives; and when cavillers objected to so uncanonical a proceeding, he replied that it was better that the communion should be celebrated in delf, than that a fellow-man should remain in bondage one hour longer than was necessary.

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
510.

To complete the history of the good prelate, it may be mentioned that some years later the cry of disloyalty was again raised against him, and he was taken to Ravenna, under a guard of soldiers, to give account of himself to his new sovereign, Theodoric. As soon as the King saw the firm and venerable countenance of the Bishop, he seems to have instinctively felt that this was a man to be conciliated, not intimidated. He rose from his seat to greet him, doffed his crown to do him reverence, asked him concerning the toils of his journey, and affectionately enquired what tidings he could give him of the people of Arles, and what, of his own Goths who were garrisoning it. As soon as Cæsarius had left the royal presence, Theodoric, we are told, imprecated woe on the malicious accusers, who had caused a man of such evident holiness to be annoyed by so long and so needless a journey. 'When he entered to salute me,' the King is said to have exclaimed, 'my whole frame trembled. I felt that I was looking on an angelical countenance, on a truly apostolic man. I hold it impiety to

Cæsarius
on his de-
fence, at
Ravenna.

BOOK IV. harbour a thought of evil concerning so venerable
 CH. 9. a person.'

o-
c's pre-
sented to
Cæsarius.

After the interview the King sent to the saint a silver dish weighing 60 lbs., together with 300 golden solidi (£180), entreating him to use the salver daily and to remember his son Theodoric who had presented it. The saint, who never had an article of silver on his table except an egg-spoon, at once sold the dish (which would probably be worth 240 solidi¹, or £144) and applied the proceeds to his favourite charity, the liberation of captives. Mischief-makers informed the King that they had seen his present exposed for sale in the market; but when he learned the purpose to which Cæsarius was applying the proceeds, he expressed such admiration of the virtues of the saint, that all his courtiers followed suit and repaired to the Bishop's dwelling to shake him by the hand. But already the crowd of poor sufferers, in his oratory and in the atrium of his lodgings, was so great that his wealthier admirers found it no easy matter to gain entrance to his presence.

Operations
in Spain
against
Goths.

The result of the battle of Arles was to put Theodoric in secure possession of all Provence, and of so much of Languedoc as was needful to ensure his access to Spain, whither, peace having been concluded with Clovis and Gundobad, Ibbas and

¹ The relative values of silver and gold underwent great fluctuations towards the end of the Empire: but in A.D. 422 one pound of silver was worth four solidi, or forty-eight shillings (Dureau de la Malle, i. 95, quoting Cod. Theod. viii. 4. 27).

the Ostrogothic army now marched, to cut up BOOK IV.
 by the roots the usurped dominion of Gesalic. CH. 9.
 That feeble pretender was soon driven forth from 510.
 his capital, Barcelona, and wandered, an exile, to
 the Court of Thrasamund the Vandal, Theodoric's
 brother-in-law. Notwithstanding this tie of kin- Thrasa-
 dred with his pursuer, Thrasamund received the mund as-
 fugitive kindly, and enabled him to return to Gaul, sists him,
 having provided him with large sums of money,
 with which he enlisted followers and disturbed the
 peace of the Gothic provinces. Theodoric upon
 this wrote a sharp rebuke to his brother-in-law,
 telling him among other things that he was certain
 he could not have sought the counsel of his wife,
 the wise and noble Amalafrida, before taking a
 step so fatal to all friendly relations between the
 two kingdoms. The Vandal King frankly con- but repents
 fessed his fault, and sent ambassadors with large of doing so.
 presents, apparently of gold plate, to soothe the
 anger of his brother-in-law. Theodoric cordially
 accepted the apology, but not the presents, saying
 that, after reading the words of Thrasamund, it
 was sweeter to give back *his* presents than to
 receive costly gifts from any other sovereign¹.

As for Gesalic, weak and cowardly intriguer, his
 attempted rebellion was again with ease suppressed.
 After a year spent in troubling the peace of Gaul Defeat and
 he returned to Spain, was defeated by Ibbas in death of
 a pitched battle twelve miles from Barcelona, Gesalic,
 again took flight—this time for Burgundy—was 511 (?).

¹ Cass. Var. v. 43 and 44.

Theodoric's Relations with Gaul.

BOOK IV. captured a little north of the river Durance, and

CH. 9.

s put to death by his captors.

After the overthrow of the Visigothic kingdom, Clovis received from the Emperor Anastasius the honors bestowing on him the dignity of Roman Consul¹. In the church of St. Martin at Tours, he appeared clothed in purple tunic and mantle, the dress of a Roman and of a sovereign, and with the diadem on his head. Then, mounting his horse at the door of the atrium of the church, he rode slowly through the streets to the cathedral, scattering gold and silver coins as he went, and saluted by the people (the Roman provincials doubtless) with shouts of 'Chlodovechus Consul! Chlodovechus Consul!'

After having murdered the rest of the Salian and Ripuarian princes in Gaul, and left himself in a solitude which he sometimes affected to deplore, (but this was only in the hope of tempting any forgotten kinsman who might be lingering in obscurity, to come forth and meet the knife of the assassin), Clovis, the eldest son of the King, died at Paris in the forty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried in the Basilica of the Holy Apostles, which had been reared by him and Clotilda. Already, in the founder of the Merovingian family, we see indications of that shortness of life which was to be so remarkable a characteristic of its later generations. At his

His death,
511.

¹ *Consul suffectus*, not *Consul ordinarius*. His name does not appear, as does that of Theodoric, in the Roman *Fasti*.

death his kingdom was divided between his four sons, Theodoric, Chlodimir, Childeburt, and Chlo-
lochar. The three last only were sons of Clotilda.

For the rest of his reign, Theodoric the Amal ruled Spain and Visigothic Gaul s protector of his grandson Amalaric, but in his own name, and with power nearly as uncontrolled as that which he exercised in Italy itself. The chief limitation to that power consisted in the great influence wielded by Theudis, an Ostrogoth whom he had appointed guardian of Amalaric, perhaps *Praefectus Praetorio* of Spain. Theudis married a wealthy Spanish lady, surrounded himself with a body-guard of 2000 men, and affected some of the state of independent royalty. There was no open breach between him and his master, but when, towards the end of his reign, Theodoric invited the too powerful minister to visit him at Ravenna, Theudis, who was doubtful as to the return journey, ventured to refuse obedience to the summons, and Theodoric did not consider it prudent to enforce it. The aged king probably knew that he was not transmitting a perfectly safe inheritance to his Visigothic grandson.

We return to contemplate the declining fortunes of the Burgundian monarchy. Gundobad had certainly reaped little benefit from his desertion of the Arian confederacy and his alliance with Clovis. He had quite failed to secure the coveted lands at the mouths of the Rhone: he had even, it would seem, lost Avignon, though he may have gained

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

Theodoric
rules
Spain.

Half-inde-
pendent
attitude
of his
lieutenant
Theudis.

Gundo-
bad's loss
by his alli-
ance with
Clovis.

BOOK IV. the less important city of Viviers (Alba Augusta)
 CH. 9. in exchange. A strong chain of Ostrogothic fort-
 resses barred the passage of the boundary river,
 the Durance, and he was now cooped up between
 two mighty neighbours, one of whom ruled from
 the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and the other from the
 Danube to Gibraltar. Whether the mutual rela-
 tions of these two states were friendly or hostile,
 he was but too likely to come to ruin between
 them.

Death of
 Gundobad,
 516.

Accession
 of Sigis-
 mund, a
 convert to
 Catholi-
 cism.

However, Gundobad died in peace in the year
 516, having outlived Clovis five years; and was
 succeeded by his son Sigismund, son-in-law of
 Theodoric, and a convert to the Catholic faith. The
 new king, a man of an unstable hysterical tempera-
 ment, left scarcely a fault uncommitted which
 could hasten the downfall of his throne. After
 alienating, probably, the affections of his Burgun-
 dian warriors by abjuring the faith of his fore-
 fathers, he lost the hearty good-will of the Catholics
 by engaging in a quarrel with their bishops, on
 account of their excommunication of his chief
 treasurer for marrying his deceased wife's sister.
 The resolute attitude maintained by the bishops,
 who put 'the most excellent king' in a kind of
 spiritual quarantine till he should come to a better
 mind, coupled with an opportune attack of fever,
 brought Sigismund to his knees in abject surrender,
 and he was reconciled to the Church, but doubtless
 with some loss of royal dignity.

The natural ally of the Burgundian against his

too powerful neighbour the Frank, was evidently the Ostrogothic King. Instead of recognising this fact, Sigismund exhausted the vocabulary of servitude in grovelling self-prostration before the Emperor Anastasius, a sovereign whose power was too remote from the scene of action to be of the slightest service to him; when the time of trial should come. At the same time, he irrevocably alienated Theodoric by a domestic crime, which reminds us of the family history of another distinguished convert, Constantine, and, perhaps with less justice, of a passage in the life of another pillar of orthodoxy, Philip II of Spain¹. The daughter of Theodoric had borne to Sigismund a son who was named Segeric. This youth contemplated, we are told, his eventual accession to both thrones, the Burgundian and the Ostrogothic, and, though we have no reason for asserting that his maternal grandfather designed to make him his heir, such a union of the kingdoms would have had much to recommend it to the statesmanlike mind of Theodoric. But Sigismund, after the death of his Amal wife, had married again. His second wife, a woman not of noble birth, but of orthodox creed, inflamed the father's jealousy against his son, who had flouted her as unworthy to wear the clothes of her late mistress, and whom she accused of not being willing to wait the

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

His self-humiliation before the Emperor,

and breach with Theodoric.

¹ The tendency of modern historians seems to be to acquit Philip of all blame for the death of Don Carlos, who was evidently insane.

BOOK IV. ordinary course of nature for the succession to
 CH. 9. his inheritance. The wretched Sigismund listened to the poisonous insinuation, and, without giving his son an opportunity of justifying himself, cut him off by a coward's stroke. One day when Segeric was flustered with wine (we remember how Sidonius speaks of the deep potations of the Burgundians), his father advised him to enjoy a *siesta* after the banquet. Suspecting no evil he fell asleep. Two slaves by the King's command entered the chamber, fastened a cord round his neck, and strangled him.

Murder of Sigismund's son, Segeric, by his father's orders, 527.

Sigismund's repentance. Scarcely was the foul deed done than it was repented of. The miserable father, finding that his son had been falsely accused, threw himself upon the corpse, and bitterly bewailed the blind folly which had bereft him of his child. Truly, and with Teutonic frankness, did the servant who witnessed his repentance, say, 'It is not he, but thou, oh King, who needest our pity.' He fled to his beloved monastery at Agaunum, to that spot so well known to the modern traveller, where 'a key unlocks a kingdom,' as the Rhone, between nearly meeting mountain barriers, emerges from Canton Valais into Canton Vaud. Here, in the narrow defile, on the site of the imaginary martyrdom of the 'Theban Legion' (who, with Maurice at their head, were fabled to have gladly suffered martyrdom at the hands of Maximian rather than offer sacrifice to the gods of the Capitol), a house of prayer arose, and was so richly endowed by

His retirement to Agaunum.

Sigismund, that it passed, though incorrectly, for his original foundation. In this retreat the King spent many days of misery, fasting and weeping. Here he ordered a choir to be formed, whose songs were to arise to Heaven night and day, that there might be a ceaseless ascription of prayer and praise to the Most High. One cannot condemn the religious turn which was taken by the bitter self-condemnation of the unhappy Sigismund, even though it induced him to issue the somewhat harsh order for the extrusion of all women and all secular persons from the vicinity of Agaunum.

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
522.

But one may condemn the clouds of adulation which Avitus, at the installation of the new choir, sent rolling towards the royal murderer from the pulpit of the basilica of Agaunum. He called him 'pious lord,' he praised his devotion, praised his liberality to the Church, regretted that she could find no words adequate to his virtues, but assured him that on that day, by the institution of the perpetual choir, he had surpassed even his own good deeds¹. And this, to the assassin of his own son, to the man whose conscience was at that very hour tormented by the Furies, the avengers of his child. Not with such poisonous opiates did Ambrose soothe Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica. But then Ambrose had not been always a priest. While administering justice in the Roman prætorium, he had learned, it may be, some lessons of truth and righteousness

Flattery of
Avitus.

¹ Aviti Homiliarum Fragmentum, vii (p. 298, Migne).

Theodoric's Relations with Gaul.

BOOK IV CH.

ch gave an increased nobility even to his ecclesiastical career.

5-3.

The crime of Sigismund, however glossed over by the pulpit eloquence of Avitus, did not wait long for its punishment in this world. In 523, the year following the murder of Segeric, came the crash of a Frankish invasion, more disastrous even than that of 500. Three sons of Clovis joined in it, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlotachar (Lothair), incited thereto, according to the story current a century later, by the adjurations of their mother Clotilda, who urged them to revenge the wrongs which *her* family had suffered from Gundobad, more than thirty years before. We have seen how much reason there is to look with doubt, or even with absolute disbelief, upon this long-credited story. It is true that the one successor of Clovis who was not born to him of Clotilda, Theodoric, king of Metz and lord of the Arverni, took no part in the enterprise; but that abstention is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that his wife Suavegotta was the daughter of Sigismund.

Theodoric's
alliance
with the
Franks.

On the other hand, the other and greater Theodoric (after whom no doubt the son of Clovis was named), enraged at the murder of his grandson, adopted an attitude of something more than friendly neutrality towards his nephews, the Frankish invaders of Burgundia. Procopius, if we could trust his narrative of these distant affairs, draws for us a curious picture of the almost commercial arrangement between Ostrogoths and

Franks for an 'invasion on joint account' of the contracting parties. He says¹, 'Afterwards, the Franks and Goths made an alliance for the injury of the Burgundians, on condition that they should subdue the people and divide their land; the nation which should fail to assist its confederate in the campaign, paying a certain stipulated quantity of gold, but not being shut out from its share in the division of the territory.' He then describes how Theodoric gave instructions to his generals to delay their march, and not enter Burgundian territory till they should hear of the victory of the Franks; and how the weight of the conflict thus fell upon the Franks alone, who gained a hard-fought victory. As they chid their allies, when they at length appeared, for their tardy arrival, the latter pleaded in excuse the difficulty of the Alpine passes. The stipulated amount was paid by them, and Theodoric was admitted to his equal share of the conquered territory, receiving general praise for the dexterity with which he had contrived to secure a large accession of territory, without bloodshed, by the payment of a moderate sum of money.

Whatever may have been the compact which Procopius has thus curiously distorted,—for certainly his account resembles more the transactions between Byzantium and Ctesiphon than the probable arrangements between two warlike Teutonic nations,—it must be admitted that in its imme-

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.

523.
Curious
account
given of it
by Proco-
pius.

Consider-
able acces-
sion of
territory in
Gaul thus
obtained
by Theo-
doric.

¹ De Bello Gothico, i. 12.

Theodoric's Relations with Gaul.

BOOK IV. diate result the campaign of 523 was greatly to
CH. 9. the advantage of Theodoric. With no hard fighting,
523. he pushed his frontier in the Rhone-lands northwards from the line of the Durance to that of the Drôme, thus adding to his dominions all that he did not already possess of Provence, and no inconsiderable portion of Dauphiné besides¹. The leader of the Ostrogothic army which achieved this bloodless conquest was Tulum, the hero of the campaign of 509 and the valiant succourer of Arles².

Defeat of
Sigismund.

Meanwhile Sigismund fought and lost a battle with the Frankish invaders, probably near the northern frontier of his kingdom, fled to his favourite retreat of Agaunum, and was given up to the enemy by his Burgundian subjects, whose love he had no doubt lost when he slew his son³.

All seemed lost, but was not lost yet. As the

¹ This is proved by the fact that bishops from the following places are found assisting at the *Gothic* councils held at Arles between 524 and 529—Cavaillon, Apt. Orange, St. Paul des Trois Châteaux (Augusta Tricastinorum), Charpentras, Gap, Embrun, Vaison (Binding, i. 266).

² Cassiodorus, in the previously quoted letter (viii. 10), says of Tulum: 'Mittitur igitur, Franco et Burgundio decertantibus, rursus ad Gallias tuendas, ne quid adversa manus praesumeret, quod noster exercitus impensis laboribus vindicasset. Adquisivit Reipublicae Romanae, aliis contendentibus absque ulla fatigatione provinciam. . . . Triumphus sine pugna, sine labore palma, sine caede victoria,' etc.

³ This is the version of the story given by the *Passio S. Sigismundi*. Jahn (ii. 303) thinks that the writer, who is partial to the Franks, has made the most of the treachery of the Burgundians, and especially of their supposed share in the actual putting to death of their king.

Frankish hosts were retiring, probably on the approach of winter, Godomar, the younger and more energetic son of Gundobad, collected some troops and assumed the government, probably as a kind of regent on behalf of his captive brother. That brother with all his family was at once murdered by Chlodimir, with that ruthless indifference to human life which is an especial note of the Merovingian house. Sigismund, his wife, and his two sons were all thrown down a deep well in the neighbourhood of Orleans; and, as some faint justification of the crime, later generations trumped up the story, that after this manner had his father Gundobad dealt by Hilperik, the father of Clotilda, and *his* sons. But the wicked deed did not avail to stay the reaction against the Franks, and perhaps even strengthened the position of Godomar, the now recognised King of the Burgundians.

BOOK IV.
CH. 9.
Godomar, younger son of Gundobad, makes a stand against the Franks. Murder of Sigismund by the Frankish king, 523.

The new King by his valour and energy restored for a time the almost desperate fortunes of his people. The Frankish brothers, joined this time by Theodoric of Auvergne, invaded the country. Godomar met them in battle at Véséronce on the Rhone, about thirty miles east of Lyons¹. Chlodimir was slain by a javelin. The Burgundians, when they saw the long and carefully-tended hair of the dead man, drawn back from his forehead

Campaign of 524.
Battle of Véséronce, 21 June (?). Chlodimir slain.

¹ The date of the battle is suggested, not proved, by an interesting inscription discovered at Anse on the Saone, which appears to record the death of 'Villigisclus of good memory, who died in battle at Vesaroncia the xith of the Kalends of July.' See Binding, i. 258.

BOOK IV. and descending to his shoulders, knew that they
 CH. 9. had slain a royal Meroving¹. They cut off the head
 524- and exhibited it on a spear-point to the Frankish
 Godemar victorious. warriors, who, discouraged by the death of their
 leader, broke their ranks and fled from the field.
 The little children of Chlodomir were cruelly murdered by Childebert and Chlotochar, who, intent upon this partition, left his death unavenged and Burgundia in peace.

526. This then was the condition of affairs in Gaul
 when Theodoric the Ostrogoth died. The friendly
 Enormous increase of Frankish power in the lifetime of Theodoric. monarchy of the Visigoths was all but rooted out of the land. That of the Burgundians still lived on, but had been shorn by Theodoric himself of some of its territory in the south, and really awaited but the first vigorous effort from the Franks to crumble into ruin. The dominions of the chief royal house of the Salian Franks, which at the accession of Clovis reached but from Utrecht to Amiens, now touched the Pyrenees at the south-west, and the Main and Neckar in the east. The Thuringians, under their king Hermanfrid, Theodoric's nephew by marriage, were the only power in Germany that seemed to have a chance of maintaining their independence against the Franks, and they too, soon after the death of Theodoric, were to be incorporated with the new world-empire of the Merovingians.

¹ Agathias (i. 3), who describes this battle, gives an interesting description of the Frankish *cherelure*, and contrasts it with the shaggy, unkempt locks of the Turks and Avars.

Looking thus over the map of Western Europe BOOK IV.
 at the beginning of the sixth century, is it possible CH. 9.
 for us not to cast one glance at that country whose England in the sixth century.
 chalk cliffs, seen from the shores which owned the
 sway of Clovis, looked then near and fair as now
 they look from France when lit up by the sun of a
 summer morning? Yet this is how the contemporary
 Procopius speaks of the island of *Brittia*, which
 can hardly be any other than our Britain¹. After Procopius's description of it.
 describing the wall built across it by the ancients,
 which, according to him, ran from north to south,
 and separated the fruitful and populous east from
 the barren, serpent-haunted western tract, in which
 no man could live for an hour, he proceeds to tell
 a well-known story, which he scarcely likes to
 repeat, since it sounds like fable, and yet which
 is attested by such numberless persons who them-
 selves witnessed the strange phenomenon that he
 does not like entirely to reject it:—

‘The coast of the continent over against *Brittia* The country of the dead.
 is dotted with villages, in which dwell fishermen,
 husbandmen, merchants, who serve the kings of the
 Franks but pay them no tribute, being excused by
 reason of the service which I am about to describe.
 They understand that they have it in charge to
 conduct by turns the souls of the dead to the oppo-
 site shore. Those upon whom the service devolves,
 at nightfall betake themselves to sleep, though
 waiting their summons. As the night grows
 old, an unseen hand knocks at their doors, the

¹ De Bello Gothico, iv. 20.

Theodoric's Relations with Gaul.

BOOK IV. voice of an unseen person calls them to their toil.

CH. 9.

Then they spring up from their couches and run to the shore. They understand not what necessity constrains them thus to act : they know only that they *are* constrained. At the water's edge they see barks not their own, with no visible passengers on board, yet so deeply loaded that there is not a finger's breadth between the water and the rowlocks. They bend to their oars, and in one hour they reach the island of Brittia, which, in their own barks, they can scarce reach in a night and a day, using both oar and sail. Arrived at the other side, as soon as they understand that the invisible disembarkation has taken place, they return, and now their boats are so lightly laden that only the keel is in the water. They see no form of man sailing with them or leaving the ship, but they hear a voice which seems to call each one of the shadowy passengers by name, to recount the dignities which they once held, and to tell their father's names. And if women are of the party, the voice pronounces the names of the husbands with whom they lived on earth. Such are the appearances which are vouched for by the men who dwell in those parts. But I return to my former narrative.'

So thick was the mist and darkness that had fallen upon the land where Severus died, where Constantine was saluted Emperor, and where Pelagius taught that man was born sinless. And truly, the analogy of that which happens to the

spirits of the dead, well describes the change BOOK IV.
which had come over Britain. Our historians tell CH. 9.
us indeed that Anderida fell two years before
Theodoric won his kingdom. They conjecture
that Eburacum fell during the central years of
his reign, and that Cerdic, the pirate ancestor of
Queen Victoria, conquered the Isle of Wight, where
his descendant now abides in peace, four years after
the death of the great Ostrogoth. But to the ques-
tions, so intensely interesting to us, *how* all these
things happened, how the struggle was regarded
by those engaged in it, what manner of man the
Roman Provincial seemed to the Saxon, and the
Heathen to the Christian, what were the incidents
and what the nature of the strife,—to all of
these questions we can scarce obtain more answer
than comes back to us from the spirits of those
with whom we once shared every thought, but
who, summoned by the touch of an unseen hand,
have left us for the Land of Silence.

CHAPTER X.

THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH THE EAST.

Authorities.

Sources:—

BOOK IV. THOSE enumerated at the beginning of Chapter II, with
 CH. 10. the addition of ENNODIUS and CASSIODORUS for the affairs of Theodoric, the letters of Popes GELASIUS and HORMISDAS, and the ACTS OF THE COUNCILS (in Mansi, vol. viii) for the history of the Schism.

Guides:—

Finlay ('Greece under Foreign Dominion,' vol. i.) has some interesting remarks on Anastasius, whom upon the whole he admires. Milman ('History of Latin Christianity,' vol. i.) draws a striking picture of the Emperor Anastasius and the Monophysite controversy. Canon Rawlinson, in his 'Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy,' gives us an excellent history of the wars between Persia and the Empire. But our best guide, and one who unfortunately leaves us after this point, is Tillemont.

Seven

498-518.

For ~~five~~ ^{seven} and-
 twenty
 years'
 reign of the
 Emperor
 Anastasius.

FOR ~~five~~ ^{seven} and-twenty years—that is to say, for three-quarters of its whole duration—the reign of Theodoric ran parallel to that of Anastasius, the handsome but elderly officer of the household¹ whom, as we have already seen, the favour of

¹ Anastasius was a Silentarius before his accession to the throne. Procopius (De Bello Pers. ii. 21) describes these officers as men whose business it was to watch over the Emperor's rest in the palace (βασιλεὶ μὲν δαί ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετῶν . . . Σιλετταρίους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ κεῖται).

Ariadne, widow of Zeno, raised to the imperial throne. The character of the man who was still, probably, in the view of all the provincial populations, the only legitimate ruler in the lands west of the Euphrates, could not but seriously affect, for good or for evil, the fortunes of Theodoric and of the new realm which he was founding; and, upon the whole, it may be said that the influence exerted upon them by Anastasius was for good.

There are few sovereigns of whom more contradictory characters are given than those which the historians of the period—chiefly ecclesiastical historians—have drawn of Anastasius. Avaricious and generous; base and noble: one who sold the offices of the state to the highest bidder; one who found the custom of so selling them in existence and resolutely suppressed it: a destroyer of the resources of the provinces; a careful cherisher of those resources,—such are some of the contradictory qualities assigned to him in the pages of these writers. Even his personal appearance has not altogether escaped from this perplexing variety of portraiture. While Cedrenus tells us of the lofty stature, the vivid blue eyes, and the white hair of the noble-looking Silentiarius, to whom Ariadne gave her hand and the imperial crown, Zonaras declares that his two eyes were of different colours, the left black and the right blue, and that hence he derived his surname of Dicorus.

As to his religious opinions, some authors say (or hint) that he was a Manichean, others an Arian, and of his religious position.

BOOK IV. others an Eutychian,—a set of statements about as
 CH. 10. consistent with each other as if a modern statesman
 were represented as at once an Agnostic, an Ultramontane, and a Calvinist. The truth appears to be that Anastasius was not at first an eager partisan of any of the theological fashions (it were giving them too high honour to call them faiths) which distracted the dioceses of the East. He was himself inclined to Eutychianism,—that form of doctrine which exalted the Divinity of Jesus Christ at the expense of his true Humanity ; but if I read his actions aright, he wished to reign in that spirit of toleration for all faiths which had been the glory of the reign of Valentinian I. more than a century before him, and which was to be the glory of the reign of his great Gothic contemporary Theodoric. Events, however, were too strong for him. Scarcely anything is harder than to preserve perfect fairness and toleration towards men who are themselves intolerant and unfair. Thus, as time went on, Anastasius began to press more heavily on the adherents of Chalcedon than on their opponents. The bishops of that way of thinking began to find themselves driven from their sees, perhaps on insufficient pretences. The mob of Constantinople, sensitive on behalf of the faith of Chalcedon, took the alarm. There were tumults, bloodshed, even armed rebellion. The majesty of the purple was degraded. Anastasius became a partisan, and a partisan of the unpopular cause. Before he died, he, whose chief ambition it had apparently been to

serve the state well as a civil ruler, and to let theology take care of itself, had the sad conviction that he was known to most of his subjects only as the hard and bitter persecutor of that form of theology which attracted their ignorant but enthusiastic allegiance.

Hence, no doubt, from the position occupied by this Emperor in Church affairs flow those strangely diverging currents of testimony as to his character which have been commented upon above. We have unfortunately hardly any information as to the civil transactions of his reign from a secular historian. No Priscus, and no Procopius¹, tells us how the transactions of this Emperor in peace and war were viewed by the statesmen of his day. We have only from the ecclesiastical writers the history of the wild war-dance performed round his venerable figure by monks and priests, archimandrites and patriarchs, some shouting 'Anathema to the Council of Chalcedon!' and others 'Anathema to Eutyches, to Zeno, to Acacius! Away with the men who communicated with Peter the Stammerer! Away with the Manichean Emperor!' The shriek of the latter, the Chalcedonian party, reaches the ears of posterity in the more piercing tones, because it has in the end won the prize of a character for orthodoxy, but we can also distinguish some notes of the war-cry of its enemies², and they help us in

¹ Except a short and rapid summary of the Persian Wars of Anastasius given by Procopius, *De Bello Pers.* i. 7-10.

² Preserved, though in a very modified form, in the History of Evagrius.

BOOK IV. some measure to understand why and how the
 CH. 10. aged and tolerant Emperor was forced into acts
 which his calumniators represent as worthy of
 Herod or Diocletian.

His financial administration. To Anastasius as a financial administrator the
 historian can, with but little hesitation, assign a high
 place among the rulers of the Empire. Procopius,
 who styles him 'the most provident and most
 economical of all the Emperors,' tells us that at
 his death the imperial treasury contained 320,000
 pounds of gold (£14,400,000), all collected¹ during
 the twenty-seven years of his reign². Yet, at least
 in one instance, the Emperor had not increased
 but lessened the weight of taxation on his subjects.

His abolition of the Chrysargyron. This was the case of the tax called *Chrysargyron*,
 which had been first imposed, some say, by Constan-
 tine³, and which seems to have been a licence-tax
 levied once in four years⁴ on all who lived by any
 kind of trade. From the manner of its collection it
 pressed with extreme severity on small hucksters
 and others of the poorest class; and it also seemed
 to give the State's sanction to vice, since it was
 levied upon prostitutes and others who traded
 only upon immorality. These perhaps paid their

¹ According to one reading *οὐδενὶ νόμῳ*, 'under no law;' ac-
 cording to another *οὐδενὶ πόνῳ*, 'with no trouble.' Neither
 reading gives a very satisfactory sense (*Anecdota*, 19, p. 113).

² This statement may be compared with that as to the
 130,000 lbs. of gold collected for and wasted upon the Vandal
 expedition by Leo (see vol. ii. p. 455).

³ Zosimus asserts this and Evagrius passionately denies it.

⁴ Tillemont argues that it was the same as the *lustralis col-
 latio*, and was collected once in five years.

Chrysargyron more readily than any other class, feeling that they thereby purchased indemnity for their evil courses¹. The tax had long been denounced by statesmen and divines, and now (in the year 501²) Anastasius determined that it should cease. When he had gone through the form of obtaining the sanction of the Senate to its abolition, he burned in the Circus, in the presence of all the people, the rolls containing the names of the persons liable to the tax. Still, however, as Anastasius well knew, there was one class of men who viewed the abolition with regret. These were the clerks in the office of the Chrysargyron, whose employment, one of the most distinguished in the whole civil service³, was taken from them by the reform. Fearing that under his successors the tax might, on the representation of these men, be

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.His artifice
to prevent
its reimpo-
sition.

¹ Upon the nature of the Chrysargyron, which is not very clearly explained by contemporary authors, the following somewhat doubtful testimony is given by the late writer Cedrenus (eleventh century):—

‘Now the Chrysargyron was this sort of tax. Every poor man and beggar, every prostitute and repudiated wife, every slave and freedman, made a contribution to the treasury for the excrement of their cattle and their dogs, whether in the city or the field. Men and women each paid a silver coin (? denarius): the same was paid on behalf of a horse, a mule, and an ox: for an ass or a dog the payment was six *folles*. Great was the wailing both in city and country on account of the pitiless way in which the collectors exacted this tax.’

² So says Theophanes, p. 123 c. (ed. 1655).

³ As Evagrius says, their ‘commission’ (*συναρεία*) was one only held by gentlemen (*οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἀνδρῶν*). In consequence of the fiction that the Emperor was a general, every post, even in the civil service, held under him was a *συναρεία*.

BOOK IV. CH. 10. revived, he took a precaution which, though ingenious, showed some of that not very imperial quality of slyness which we can discern also in his ecclesiastical proceedings, and which partly accounts for the bitterness with which his outwitted theological opponents have persecuted his memory. Inviting the officers who had been charged with the collection of the Chrysargyron to meet him at the palace, he delivered an oration, in which he professed to regret his hasty abolition of the tax, and his rash destruction of the documents connected with it. After all, said he, it was desirable to have some records of the manner of collecting an impost which, at any time, the necessities of the State might compel him to revive. If therefore the worthy *numerarii* before him had among their private papers any such documents, the Emperor would thank them to bring such papers to him, and would reward them handsomely for doing so. On a given day the revenue officers met the Emperor again. The papers were given up and paid for. 'Are there any more?' he asked. 'None, gracious lord,' replied all the officers, and swore it by the Emperor's life. 'Then now shall all be destroyed,' said the Emperor, who burned them at once in the presence of all, and threw even the ashes of the rolls into running water. So intent was he on the thorough performance of the act by which he

'took the tax away,
And built himself an everlasting name!'

¹ This story concerning Anastasius is well illustrated by a

Some of the other financial measures carried by BOOK IV.
Anastasius are spoken of in more doubtful terms. CH. 10.
One of them seems to have been ¹ the commutation Commuta-
tion of the
imperial
tithes.
of the tithes payable in kind from the cultivator
to the treasury for a fixed money-payment, which,
according to Evagrius, was calculated on an oppres-
sive scale ². Of course if the commutation was
unfair the measure cannot be defended; but, in
itself, the principle of allowing the *possessor* to sell
his corn to the nearest purchaser, and bring the
tenth part of the gold representing it into the
treasury, was a good one.

Another reform was the abolition, at least the Modifica-
tion of the
Curial sys-
tem.
partial abolition, of the curial system ³. We are
told that he took away the collection of taxes from
the local senates ⁴, and sent instead officers called
Vindices ⁵ to each city, charged with the execution
of this duty: 'Whereby the revenues in great part
came to grief, and the glory of the cities departed.
For [under the old system] the nobles ⁶ were in-
scribed each in the album ⁷ of his city, and thus
every city had its own council, with defined and

bas-relief recently discovered in the Forum at Rome. At the
command of an Emperor, probably Trajan, the servants of the
Exchequer are bearing a great number of rolls of parchment
—probably the registers showing the arrears due from default-
ing tax-payers—and are burning them in the fire.

¹ Evagrius, iii. 42. The passage is very obscure.

² Lydus (De Mag. iii. 61) seems to attribute this change to
John of Cappadocia, under Justinian.

³ Compare vol. ii. pp. 596–618.

⁴ Βουλευτηρία.

⁵ Βίνδικες.

⁶ Εἰπατρίδαι.

⁷ Ἐν λευκώμασι.

BOOK IV. well-ascertained powers.' So says Evagrius, writing
CH. 10. a century after the accession of Anastasius, when it was perhaps not easy to discriminate exactly between his work and that of his successors. From the history of the Curies, as far as we have been able to trace it, one would be inclined to say that the abolition of these local senates must in itself have been a wise and righteous measure. Their 'glory' was but a bright robe covering deep and cruel wounds. Overcharged with terrible responsibilities, and with scarcely any real power, they stood helpless in presence of the imperial despotism, with whose rapacity they were unable to cope; and thus the privilege of having one's name inscribed in their rolls, once an eagerly-sought distinction, had become a most intolerable burden. The Curies were in fact bankrupt, and the *curiales* were no longer shareholders in a flourishing enterprise, but contributories struggling to evade their liability.

A change,
 good in
 itself, but
 which
 tended
 towards
 centralisa-
 tion.

In these circumstances, to sweep away the Curies with their system of ruthlessly enforced 'joint and several liability' for the taxes of the district was probably an act of mercy. Still it was a step towards centralisation. The Vindices were not local officers, but received their commission direct from the imperial treasury. In the days of financial pressure which were approaching, when Justinian's wars, his wife, and his architects had well-nigh beggared the Empire, and when the chief concern of the ruler was how to wring the last

solidus out of the exhausted tax-payer, it may be that the vindex of the Emperor was found more efficacious than the old-fashioned *duumvir* of the Curia. But the blame for this oppression must rest, not on Anastasius, who remodelled the taxing-machine of the State, but on Justinian, who wasted the revenues provided by it.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

Other traits of the character of this Emperor seem to disclose a generous and sympathetic nature. Even his enemies attest his habit of abundant almsgiving, both before and after his elevation to the throne. And to any city in his dominions which had suffered from hostile invasion he was wont to grant a remission of all taxes for the space of seven years.

Generosity
of Anasta-
sius.

Among the great works which signalised the reign of Anastasius was the construction of a wall, more than fifty miles long, drawn from the Sea of Marmora to the Euxine, at a distance of about thirty-five miles from the capital. The wall was apparently strengthened by a fosse, which was really a navigable canal uniting the two seas¹. This Great Wall of Anastasius played an important part in the defence of Constantinople for many centuries, giving as it did to the capital, so long as it was kept in good repair, all the strength of an insular position.

Building of
the long
wall,
507.

The Isaurian war (which has been described in

Isaurian
War,
492-497.

¹ So I understand the words of Evagrius, iii. 38. Finlay says that 'traces of the wall are still visible about twenty feet broad' (History of Greece, i. 181).

BOOK IV. a previous chapter¹), waged against the brother
 CH. 10. and the countrymen of Zeno, occupied five years
 Persian at the beginning of the reign of Anastasius. Then,
 War, after a peaceful interval of five years, came four
 502-505. years of war with Persia. The peace between the
 two great monarchies of the Eastern world, which
 had lasted for sixty years, was at length broken
 by the King of Kings. Kobad², who mounted
 the Persian throne in 487, was under great obli-
 gations, both moral and pecuniary, to his barbarous
 neighbours on the northern frontier, the Ephtha-
 lites, or so-called White Huns, by whose aid he
 had been twice enabled to win or to recover his
 crown. To enable him to discharge the material
 obligation, he applied to Anastasius for a sum of
 money, which was, according to one account, to be
 a loan, according to another the repayment of an
 old debt, for expenses incurred on the joint account
 of the two civilised Empires in defending the
 passes of the Caucasus from the barbarians. Under
 whatever name the request was made it was re-
 fused by Anastasius, and Kobad prepared for war.
 502-3. In the first year of the war the Persians, after a
 Fall of stubborn resistance, took the great city of Amida,
 Amida. the capital of the Roman territory on the upper
 waters of the Tigris. An army, or rather four
 armies under virtually independent commanders,
 were despatched by Anastasius to the seat of war.
 From want of co-operation and want of generalship
 these four armies effected little or nothing, blun-

¹ See chap. ii.² The Cabades of Procopius.

dering into a victory here and a defeat there, but on the whole losing ground before the able strategy of Kobad¹. It might perhaps have gone hard with the opulent cities of Syria but for the fortunate circumstance that Kobad himself was forced to return to defend his territory against the barbarians on the Oxus; and in his absence his generals fought as badly as those of Rome. The siege of Amida was vigorously pressed by the generals of Anastasius, and the Persians must in a very few days have surrendered it from want of provisions, when messengers came from Kobad proposing a peaceful settlement. If Anastasius would pay £40,000 Amida should be restored to him, and all should be again as it was before the war. The Roman generals accepted these terms, and did not discover till too late that Amida, which their master had bought for 1000 pounds of gold, was really theirs by right of conquest. However, the peace, which was concluded for seven years, lasted

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CH. 10.

505.

Amida
bought
back and
peace con-
cluded.

¹ It must be, I think, by some inadvertence that Milman (*Hist. of Latin Christianity*, i. 243) speaks of the Emperor as having shared these campaigns in person. There is no trace of such a statement in Procopius, and it is improbable that a sovereign, seventy-four years of age, should expose himself to the perils and hardships of such an enterprise. Milman refers to a certain Persian painter who decorated the walls of the palace with Manichean emblems, and whom, he thinks, Anastasius brought with him from the East. But Cedrenus (a very late writer), who is the authority for this story, says: 'Anastasius brought from *Cyzicus* [in Mysia] a certain Manichean painter in the habit of a priest, who dared to paint fantastic figures, unlike the holy ecclesiastical effigies, in the palace' (i. pp. 629, 630, ed. Bonn).

BOOK IV. for one-and-twenty, and was doubtless a great ad-
 CH. 10. vantage to both Empires.

The recovered city of Amida was so generously assisted by the Emperor that it soon seemed to flourish even more than it had done before the war broke out. Upon the whole, the Persian war, if it had not brought any great glory, had not brought shame on the arms of Anastasius.

505. In the year in which the Persian war ended, occurred the first passage of arms between the troops of Anastasius and those of Theodoric. This will therefore be the most suitable opportunity for reviewing the notices, scanty and scattered as they are, of the intercourse between the two monarchs.

Transac-
tions with
Theodoric.

Embassy
of Faustus,
493.

We know from ecclesiastical history that in the year 493 Faustus, who was then Master of the Offices, was sent along with Irenæus (like himself an *Illustis*) to Constantinople on the King's business, and that, on their return to Rome, Faustus did his utmost to heal the schism between the Churches by representing to Pope Gelasius the injury to the cause of orthodoxy which resulted from his insisting on the damnation of Acacius, whose memory was dear both to sovereign and people at Byzantium.

Gelasius's
haughty
letter to
the Em-
peror.

The only result of their representations, however, was a long and somewhat haughty letter from Gelasius to the Emperor, excusing himself for not having written before, assuring him that Gelasius as a Roman loved and venerated the Roman sovereign, but reminding him that there were two

powers by which the world was governed, the sacred authority of pontiffs and the power of kings. BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

‘Of these two, so much the weightier is the office of the priest inasmuch as he has to give account for kings also in the day of the Divine judgment. You know, most clement son, that though you excel all the rest of the human race in dignity, you must nevertheless meekly bow the neck to the chief stewards of the Divine mysteries when you receive the sacraments at their hands, and in the affairs of the Church it is for you to obey, not to command . . . It is vain to say that the populace of Constantinople will not bear the condemnation of their late bishop. You have repressed their turbulence at the games : can you not in this matter, which concerns the good of souls, exert the same authority ? . . . Let them call the Apostolic See proud and arrogant : they are herein only like a sick man who blames the doctor that uses sharp measures for his restoration to health. If we are proud who do but obey the teaching of the Fathers, what are they to be called who resist us and fight against Divinity itself ?’ Certainly the pretensions advanced by Pope Felix were not abated by his successor. We do not hear what reply the Emperor made to this lordly letter.

We can hardly be wrong in supposing that the two ambassadors just mentioned, Faustus and Irenæus, were sent by Theodoric to announce his final triumph over Odovacar, and to claim the ratification of the bargain made with Zeno, that Italy,

BOOK IV. if thus conquered, should be, perhaps, abandoned
CH. 10. by the Empire, at any rate recognised as the possession of Theodoric. Apparently, however, the embassy was not successful. Anastasius was offended at Theodoric's haste in declaring himself king of the Romans as well as the Goths in the land of Italy, and perhaps refused to be bound by the undefined promises of his predecessor.

Embassy
of Festus,
497.

and pacific
letter from
Pope Ana-
stasius.

Again therefore, in the year 497, was an embassy sent to Constantinople. This time the royal envoy was the Patrician Festus, and he was accompanied by two bishops, Germanus and Cresconius, who bore a letter from the Pope. Gelasius was now dead, and the chair of St. Peter was filled by an Anastasius, namesake of the Cæsar of Byzantium—a man of gentle and peaceable disposition, eager to end the quarrel which reflected so little credit on either of the two Churches. The letter of Anastasius the Pope to Anastasius the Emperor bore willing testimony to the virtues and the piety which the latter had displayed in a private station, and, though still not surrendering the indispensable damnation of the unfortunate Acacius, offered to recognise the validity of all orders conferred by the laying on of his hands. The ecclesiastical difference seemed in a fair way of being settled, and probably the conciliatory temper of the bishops smoothed the path for their colleague the Patrician. For (to quote again the words of the Anonymus Valesii transcribed in a former chapter¹) ‘Theodoric

¹ P. 294.

made his peace with the Emperor Anastasius, through the mediation of Festus, for his unauthorised assumption of the royal title¹. The Emperor also restored to him all the ornaments of the palace which Odoachar had transmitted to Constantinople.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.
497.

Thus, then, peace and friendship are established, on paper as well as in fact, between Ravenna and Constantinople, and Theodoric is formally recognised as, in some sense or other, legitimate ruler in Italy. What was the precise relation thus established between the two monarchs I must give up the attempt to explain. I see no statement of a formal abandonment by the Empire of the sacred soil of Italy; yet neither do I see any formal recognition by Theodoric that he was governing it in the Emperor's name, or that the latter was his superior. To me the whole matter seems to have been purposely left vague, as is so often the case when Fact and Law are felt by all parties to be hopelessly at variance with one another. A spectator of modern politics, who feels his inability to explain the precise legal relation of the Hapsburg monarch to the Sultan in respect to Bosnia, of the Queen of England to the same potentate in respect to Cyprus and Egypt, or even the exact nature of the tie which unites the Emperor of Germany to his crowned partners, or vassals, of Bavaria and Saxony, need not be ashamed to confess that he cannot absolutely decide whether

Peace ratified between King and Emperor.

Their exact relation probably left undefined.

¹ 'Facta pace de præsumptione regni.'

BOOK IV. Theodoric was dependent or independent of the
 CH. 10. Emperor of the New Rome.

Extent of Theodoric's dominions. Whatever may have been the exact title assumed by Theodoric, or the moral limits of his power, there is no doubt that geographically it extended far beyond the country which we call Italy. Of his Gaulish dominions enough has been already said. Rætia, including the eastern half of Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Bavaria south of the Danube, theoretically formed part of his kingdom, though in practice, as we have seen, the somewhat loosely subordinated Alamanni soon occupied most of the lands between the Alps and the Black Forest. In Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyricum, the whole that is of the modern Austrian Empire south and west of the Danube, Theodoric was regarded as the legitimate successor of the Emperors of the West. It is a question, which we have no means of solving, how far Rugians, Heruli, and Gepidæ may practically have limited his dominions in this direction; but it is important to remember that, at any rate after the compact of 497, the Emperor of the East had no claim to rule directly in those countries any more than in Ravenna. Illyricum evidently was Theodoric's in fact, as well as in right. All that island-studded coast of Dalmatia, Diocletian's vast palace at Salona, and the highlands behind, which we now call Bosnia and Herzegovina, were really held by the strength of the Goths, and administered in accordance with the erudite rescripts of Cassiodorus. The frontier of the two monarchies was

apparently that settled in the year 395 between the two sons of Theodosius¹; and thus Dyrrhachium, the birth-place of the Emperor Anastasius, was only some fifty miles south of that part of the Dalmatian coast-line which owned the sway of the great Ostrogoth.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

This being the extent of Theodoric's rights in the Illyrian lands, he determined in 504 to vindicate them by a campaign against his old enemies the Gepidæ. Doubtless he had not forgotten that hard fight by the river Ulca, when his people found their passage barred by the inhospitable King; but now, with his new rights, he found an additional grievance in the fact that Sirmium, one of the greatest cities in the whole Illyrian Prefecture, was held by the Gepid barbarians. The ruins of this great provincial capital lie near to Mitrovitz on the Save, in the extreme east of the modern province of Sclavonia. Nevertheless, from the point of view then taken, Bishop Ennodius was right in speaking of it to the King as 'the threshold of Italy, in which the senators aforetime used to watch lest the neighbouring nations gathered round should inflict their deadly wounds on the body of the Roman people².' It was no alleviation

The War of
Sirmium,
504.

¹ See vol. i. p. 275 (where Lissus is erroneously identified with 'the modern town of Lissa;' it is Alessio in Albania). See also the map at vol. i. p. 109.

² 'Sirmiensem civitas olim limes Italiae fuit, in qua seniores domini excubabant, ne coacervata illinc finitimarum vulnera gentium in Romanum corpus excurrerent' (Ennod. Paneg. p. 173, ed. Migne).

BOOK IV. of the calamity, says the Bishop, that the loss of this
 CH. 10. city had not happened under Theodoric's rule. It
 ought again to belong to Italy, and, till it was
 recovered, his honour felt a stain.

504. There seems to have been division in the coun-
 cils of the Gepid nation, one part following Tra-
 saric the son of Trastila (the king whom Theodoric
 had defeated at the river Ulca), and the other
 following a certain Gunderith. Trasarc asked
 Theodoric's help against his rival, perhaps pro-
 mised him Sirmium as a recompense. In course
 of time the Gothic King found that the promises
 of the Gepid were only made to be broken, and
 sent an army consisting of some of his noblest
 young Gothic warriors against him. Pitzias was
 leader of this expedition: the next in command
 was named Herduic. Tulum¹, a young Gothic
 noble employed in the household of the King, first
 made himself famous in this campaign. So too
 did a Gothic stripling named Witigis, who earned
 a reputation for valour in this campaign which
 was hereafter to be more fatal to his countrymen
 than the most pitiful display of cowardice could
 possibly have proved.

Trasarc
the Gepid
deceives
Theodoric.

Gothic
warriors.
Pitzias.
Tulum.

Witigis.

Gepids and
Bulgarians
defeated
by the
Goths.

It is impossible to extract any details as to this
 war of Sirmium from the vapid rhetoric of Enno-
 dius or the jejune sentences of Jordanes. All that
 can be said is, that, though the Gepids had pro-
 cured the assistance of the Bulgarians—that new
 and terrible nationality which had lately shown

¹ Otherwise called Tulun.

itself on the banks of the Lower Danube¹—Theodoric's generals obtained a victory—an easy victory we are told—over the allied barbarians. Trasaric was expelled from Sirmium, and his mother, the widow of the inhospitable Trastila, was taken captive by Pitzias². In his treatment of the recovered city the general was careful to show that he looked upon it as a lost prize regained, not as an alien possession conquered. All tendency to ravage on the part of the soldiers was sternly checked, and the Sirmian citizens, when the standard of Theodoric was planted in their citadel, could again rejoice in the long-lost luxury of 'the Roman peace.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.
504.

Sirmium
recovered.

This appearance of a Gothic army so near the frontier line of Theodoric and Anastasius not unnaturally brought their forces into collision. There was a certain Mundo, a son or grandson of Attila, who had fled from the face of the Gepidæ, and was wandering through the valleys of what we now call Servia, at the head of a band of marauders, of whom, as Jordanes contemptuously says, he called himself king³. Against this prince of freebooters

Mundo the
Hun at-
tacked by
the Roman
general
Sabinian.

505.

¹ Cassiodori Chronicon (s. a. 504): 'Hoc Cos. virtute D. N. regis Theodorici victis Bulgaribus Syrmium recepit Italia.'

² 'Pitzamum quoque suum comitem et inter primos electum ad obtinendam Sirmiensem dirigit civitatem. Quam ille expulso rege ejus Trasarico, filio Trapstilæ, retenta ejus matre obtinuit' (Jordanes, De Reb. Get. lviii).

³ 'Nam hic Mundo de Attilanis quondam origine descendens . . . ultra Danubium in incultis locis sine ullis terræ cultoribus debacchatur, et plerisque abactoribus scamarisque [?] et latronibus undecunque collectis . . . regem se suis grassatoribus fecerat.'

BOOK IV. the Emperor sent the general Sabinian, son and
 CH. 10. namesake of Theodoric's old antagonist. Ten
 505. thousand men marched under his standards, and
 a long train of waggons carried the arms and
 rations of the soldiers¹. Mundo, on the point of
 being overpowered, invoked the assistance of the
 Asks help from the Goths. Goths, and Pitzias descended from the mountains
 of Bosnia to his aid. The battle was joined in the
 valley of the Morava, at a place called Horrea
 Margi². If we may believe Jordanes, the Ostro-
 gothic reinforcements consisted of only 2000 infan-
 try and 500 cavalry. If we may believe Ennodius,
 the Bulgarians were again opposed to them, em-
 ployed by the subtle Greeks as a bulwark to break
 the first fury of their onset³. Perhaps, on putting
 the two accounts side by side, and observing that
 Marcellinus the chronicler (who acknowledges the
 defeat of the Imperial troops by Mundo without
 any reserve) makes no mention of the Ostrogoths
 on one side nor of the Bulgarians on the other, we
 may conclude that the arrangement between the
 confederates was that Mundo the Hun should deal
 with Sabinian and the troops of the Empire, while
 Pitzias with his disciplined Goths broke the fierce
 onset of the Bulgarians.

The Gothic general saw from afar the barbarian
 host rushing to the battle, and lashed the eager

¹ Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 505.

² Near Morava Hissar. Jordanes calls it 'Margo planum, inter Danubium Margumque flumina.'

³ These, however, may have been included in Sabinianus' army of 10,000.

spirits of his own young warriors into fury by his impassioned words¹. 'Remember, my comrades, by whose order you have marched hither. We fight for the fame of our King, and let each man deem that his eyes are upon us. If a whole shower of lances darkened the sky the valiant warrior would still be visible. Plunge your breasts into that line of steel, that by your carelessness of life the victory may be assured. Have these men forgotten Theodoric? Is there not one living still who remembers how his mighty arm smote them long ago? Or do they think that Theodoric is unlike his people? They shall find that we can fight as well as our King.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

505.
Speech of
the Gothic
general to
his men.

The battle, by the account of the conquerors themselves, was a hardly-fought one. Neither Bulgarians nor Goths would believe that it could be possible for a foe to resist the fury of their onset². But at length the desperate shock and counter-shock were over. It was seen that the Bulgarians were beaten, and with loud lamentations they, who boasted that they had never before turned their backs before an enemy³, streamed from the lost battle-field.

Defeat of
the Bul-
garians.

¹ The reader must excuse some turgid sentences. I am translating—as far as it is possible to translate—Ennodius.

² 'Concurrebant duae nationes, quibus nunquam inter gladios fuga subvenerat: miratae sunt mutuo sui similes inveniri, et in humano genere vel Gothos resistentem videre vel Bulgares' (Ennod. Paneg. xii).

³ But Cassiodorus says that Sirmium in the previous war had been taken from the Bulgarians. I do not pretend to reconcile the two accounts.

BOOK IV. Sabinian fled in terror when he saw the dis-
 CH. 10. comfiture of his confederates. Pitzias, we are told,

505.
 Flight of
 the impe-
 rial troops. that he might not incur the imputation of avarice,
 forbade his soldiers to strip the bodies of the slain,
 and left them to the dogs and the vultures. The
 very chivalry of these days was barbarous. We
 hear no more of Mundo, but Theodoric's courtier
 takes pride in declaring that 'the Roman realm has
 returned to its ancient limit. Once again, as in
 the days of old, the Sirmians are taught to obey :
 the neighbours who have hitherto been keeping
 back our possessions from us' (apparently the
 Eastern Emperors) 'are now made to tremble for
 their own territories'.

Raid of
 Byzantine
 war-ships
 on the
 Apulian
 coast,
 508.

Three years after the war with Mundo, we find
 the ships of Byzantium making a piratical raid on
 the Apulian coast. Our information as to this
 affair comes entirely from a chronicler of the
 Eastern Empire (Marcellinus Comes), and he very
 honestly condemns an operation so unworthy of a
 Roman Emperor. His words are these : 'Romanus
 Count of the Domestics, and Rusticus Count of the
 Scholarii, with one hundred armed ships and as
 many cutters bearing eight thousand armed men,
 went forth to ravage the coasts of Italy. They
 proceeded as far as the very ancient city of Taren-
 tum, and then, recrossing the sea, bore back to
 Anastasius Cæsar [the news of] this inglorious

¹ 'Interea ad limitem suam Romana regna remearunt : dictas
 more veterum praecepta Sirmiensibus : de suis per vicinitatem
 tuam dubitant, qui hactenus nostra tenuerunt.'

victory which, with pirate-daring, Romans had snatched from Romans.' BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

As we hear no more of raids or revenges between the two states we may perhaps conclude that the complaints of Theodoric and the condemnation hinted by his subjects, caused Anastasius, himself at heart a lover of peace, to lay aside his unfriendly attitude and to resume the peaceful intercourse which had been for three years interrupted. If so, we may possibly place about this time a letter—the first in the collection of Cassiodorus—which was borne by two ambassadors from the Court of Ravenna to that of Constantinople¹. In that letter, Theodoric, or rather Cassiodorus writing in his name, complains, in well-chosen and weighty words, of the interruption of friendly relations with 'the most clement Emperor.' He praises the condition of Peace: Peace, the fair mother of all noble arts, the nurse of the succeeding generations, by whom the race of man is prolonged, who is the softener of savage manners. Theodoric himself learnt 'in your republic' how to govern Romans with a mild and equal sway. His kingdom is meant to be an imitation of the Emperor's: the Senate who are the Emperor's friends are his also; and his love for the venerable city of Rome is or ought to be another powerful link between them. The two republics, which under earlier sovereigns were always looked upon as forming one body, ought to be not only not discordant but

508.

*Letter to
Anasta-
sius,
509 (1).*

¹ Cass. Var. i. i.

BOOK IV. bound to one another by bonds of love, ought not
 CH. 10. merely to love, but actively and vigorously to help one another. With words of courtly greeting to the 'most glorious charity of your Mildness,' but words which seem carefully framed to convey compliments only, without any recognition of real superiority, Theodoric concludes by referring the Emperor to his ambassadors for fuller information as to his feelings.

Skill required in an ambassador to the Eastern Court.

Either on this occasion, or another of his numerous embassies to the Eastern Court, Theodoric sent Agapetus (Patrician and Illustris) to represent him. In the letter charging him with this appointment¹ he is informed that, for such a commission as his, it is necessary that 'a man of eminent prudence be selected, one who can dispute with persons of the keenest subtlety, and so manage as not to lose his cause in an assembly of literati, where the best-trained intellects of the world will come against him. Great art is required in dealing with these artful men, who think that they can anticipate every argument that you can employ².'

Priscian the Grammarian then at Constantinople.

It is possible that among these word-fencers whom the ambassadors of Theodoric had to contend with, there may have been a man whose name is memorable in the history of the Latin tongue. Priscian the Grammarian. We possess a poem of

¹ Cass. Var. ii. 6.

² 'Magna ars est contra artifices loqui, et apud illos aliquid agere qui se putant omnia praevidere.'

his in praise of Anastasius, written in flowing hex- BOOK IV.
ameters, much above the ordinary level of the CH. 10.
Latinity of his times. The descent of the Emperor
from Pompey the Great, his Isaurian victories, his
abolition of the Chrysargyron, his establishment of
public granaries, his repression of the factions of
the Circus, are all duly commemorated. One of the
titles given to the Emperor (besides Isauricus and
Parthicus) is Gotthicus, a circumstance which seems
to point to a date after the outbreak of hostilities
with Theodoric for the delivery of the oration. And His praise
in the poem occur the following remarkable lines, of the Em-
peror.
which indicate that then, at any rate, notwithstand-
ing all the optimism of Cassiodorus, there were some
Romans disposed to look upon the Emperor, not the
King, as their natural sovereign and protector:—

‘But of all acts our grateful praise that claim,
Two, mighty Prince! most illustrate your name.
The first, your choice of rulers for the land,
And then, your goodness to the exiled band.
All of her sons whom Elder Rome may send
You greet, you succour, as a fostering friend.
Step after step they mount in your employ,
Till grief for their lost country turns to joy.
Fortune and life to you, great lord, they owe,
And night and day for you their prayers shall flow!’

- 1 ‘Omnia sed superest, Princeps, praeconia vestra
Propositum sapiens, quo fidos eligis aulae
Custodes, per quos Romana potentia crescat,
Et quo, Roma vetus misit quoscunque, benigne
Sustentas, omni penitus ratione fovendo,
Provehis et gradibus praeclaris laetus honorum
Ne damni patriae sensus fiantve dolores,
Fortunam quare tibi debent atque salutem
Votaque suscipiunt pro te noctesque diesque.’

BOOK IV. But whatever disposition Anastasius may have
CH. 10. felt to trade upon the doubtful loyalty of the
Troubles of Romans towards a Gothic ruler, the increasing dis-
Anastasius content of his own subjects towards the end of his
at home. reign found him employment enough, without his
engaging in any further contests with Theodoric.
We must now plunge therefore into those dreary
theological faction-fights which were briefly referred
to at the commencement of the chapter.

Religious The state of ecclesiastical parties in the Empire
condition throughout this whole period was most peculiar,
of the Em- and was enough to strain the powers and the
pire. patience of the wisest and the most enduring of
rulers.

Egypt. There was Egypt, venerating the memory of
Cyril above all other ecclesiastics, cherishing, if not
venerating, the name of Eutyches, set upon main-
taining to the uttermost the doctrine of the unity
of the nature of Jesus Christ, who, they main-
tained, as God was born, as God was crucified.

Syria. Syria, which had given birth to the opposite
doctrine, that of Nestorius (whose denial that
Mary was rightly called 'the Mother of God' had
brought about all this controversy), fluctuated still
between Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the
strangest and most bewildering uncertainty.

Constanti- At Constantinople the populace, led by a rabble
nople. of fanatical monks, were attached with incompre-
hensible fervour of loyalty, not to Eutychianism,
not to Nestorianism, but to the very name of the
Council of Chalcedon, which excommunicated both,

and proclaimed the narrow Via Media of orthodoxy between them. Middle ways do not generally thus enlist the passions of a religious mob in their behalf. But so it was, that throughout the reign of Anastasius, if at any time words were used by a person in a prominent position which seemed to reflect on 'the Synod of the Six Hundred and Thirty' (the number of fathers who met at Chalcedon), blood might be expected soon to flow in the streets of Constantinople.

The upper classes seem at this time to have been generally Monophysite, or at least strongly attached to the Henoticon of Zeno. They probably felt the danger of dismembering the Empire which would be incurred by crushing the fanaticism of Alexandria by the fanaticism of Constantinople.

And Rome, the seat of Peter, and still in a certain sense, notwithstanding her barbarian rulers, the capital of the Empire? Rome seemed at this time to have no ears for the original controversy; so set was she on maintaining the damnation of Acacius, who had dared to excommunicate a pope. Of course she was out of communion with Monophysite Alexandria, but then she was equally out of communion with orthodox Constantinople, which held fast by the Council of Chalcedon and venerated the Tome of Leo, but which would not strike the name of Acacius out of her diptychs. Bishop after bishop of that see suffered persecution and exile for maintaining the faith of Chalcedon against the Monophysite Emperor; but as they would not

BOOK IV.

CH. 10.

The mob
Chalcedo-
nian.

The nobles
Monophy-
site.

Rome.

BOOK IV. admit that Acacius was inevitably damned, Rome,
CH. 10. the champion of Chalcedon, would have none of them.

Faith of
 Anastasius
 himself.

Anastasius, as has been already said, was probably at heart, like most of the Byzantine nobles, a Monophysite. But he was strongly suspected, and probably with truth, of the much more dangerous heresy of caring very little about the whole matter, and preferring justice and mercy and the practice of the Christian virtues to all this interminable wrangle about such questions as whether Christ ought to be said to *subsist in* two natures or to *consist of* them. While he was still in a private station, he had been accused of attending the conventicles of the heretics and yet retaining his seat in the great Catholic Basilica. Euphemius the bishop had sent for him, and sharply rebuked him for such dangerous dalliance with error, concluding the interview by a threat that, if the offence were repeated, he would cut off his hair and expose him to the derision of the mob. This story, it should be said, rests on the doubtful authority of Suidas. It seems improbable that even the Patriarch of Constantinople would dare to use such a menace to an officer of the household, past middle life and held in high honour by the people.

The Patriarch Euphemius views him with suspicion.

However, the doubt, the suspicion as to the orthodoxy of the elderly Silentarius, devout and charitable as all tongues proclaimed him to be, remained in the mind of the Patriarch Euphemius.

491. When Ariadne presented him to the Senate as the

future Emperor, Euphemius long resisted his election, and at length, it is said, only withdrew the objection on receiving from Anastasius a written confession of his faith, in which he declared that he held as true all the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. No doubt if such a humiliating condition were enforced upon him, the remembrance of it would rankle in the mind of the new Emperor, who is said to have made the recovery of the document, either from Euphemius or his successor, the main object of his ecclesiastical policy for some years. There is some variation, however, in the accounts of this matter given by the different historians, and, as we so often find to be the case, the further they are removed from the transaction the more detailed does their information about it become. Probably the importance of the affair has been overrated by ecclesiastics.

Anastasius, however, had reason enough to look coldly on Euphemius, not only as the personal enemy who had threatened to subject him to bitter humiliation, but also as the partisan, and hardly the secret partisan, of his rival the Isaurian Longinus. In the year 496, after the close of the Isaurian campaign, when, according to the triumphant Emperor, 'the prayers of the Patriarch had covered his friends with soot¹;' by one of those exertions of high-handed power which were becoming almost the rule at Constantinople, Anastasius deposed Euphemius from his see, and sent him

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

Banishment of Euphemius, 496.

¹ See p. 72.

BOOK IV. into exile at Euchaita, a city of Pontus¹. The
CH. 10. demand for his deposition came undoubtedly from
 496. the Emperor, but it was apparently carried into
 effect in a regular manner by a synod of bishops,
 before whom Anastasius laid the proofs of the
 Patriarch's treasonable complicity with the Isau-
 rian insurgents. It was, at any rate ostensibly, for
 political not for theological offences that Euphemius
 was cast down from his high place².

**Macedo-
 nius the
 new Pa-
 triarch.**

The new Patriarch of Constantinople was Macedonius, a gentle and sweet-souled man, too good for the days of wrangle in which he lived. Euphemius, before his departure for the solitudes of Pontus, desired to have the sworn promise of his successor that he should not be molested on his journey. Macedonius, who had the permission of the Emperor to grant this safe-conduct, was told that his predecessor was in the baptistery of the basilica, waiting for the interview. With generous thoughtfulness he called to a deacon and desired him to take off from his shoulders the bishop's mantle, that he might not seem to flaunt before the eyes of the fallen Patriarch the ensigns of a dignity which was no longer his. He also himself

**His cour-
 tesy to Eu-
 phemius.**

¹ So say modern geographers. I have not met with the authority for so locating it.

² There had been in the preceding year an attempt on the life of Euphemius, described by Theophanes, which had only just failed of success. But the authority of so late a writer is quite insufficient to connect Anastasius with this crime. The nearly contemporary Theodorus Lector, a bitter enemy of the Emperor, simply ascribes it to 'the conspirators against Euphemius' (οἱ ἐπίβουλοι Εὐφημίου).

borrowed money from the usurers to provide for the travelling expenses of Euphemius and his retinue. The banished man lived on for nineteen years in exile; apparently had to change his place of abode on account of the invading Huns¹; and died in 515 at Ancyra in Galatia.

During the fifteen years that Macedonius governed the Church of Constantinople there was a division, growing gradually wider and wider, between him and his Emperor. At the time of his elevation he signed the Henoticon, and perhaps anathematised the Council of Chalcedon². Gradually however, under the influence of the monastic and popular enthusiasm which prevailed in the capital, he 'hardened into a stern, almost a fanatic partisan of that very Council³.' With the usual fairness of religious disputants, the man who battled on behalf of the Via Media with Eutychians was accused of himself inclining to Nestorianism. One charge made against him in this connection and much insisted upon was that, in order to support his heretical views, he had altered a letter in a celebrated passage of the New Testament⁴ which has often since been the battle-field of controversy.

¹ This is Tillemont's conjecture.

² Victor Tunnunensis asserts this, 'Macedonius . . . Synodo facta condemnat eos qui Chalcedonensis decreta Synodi suscipiunt: ut eos qui Nestorii et Eutychis defendant;' but this is very likely only a partisan way of stating that he signed the Henoticon.

³ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, i. 241.

⁴ 1 Tim. iii. 16. He was accused of altering *ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν*

BOOK IV. The increasing estrangement between the Emperor and the Patriarch, the increasing irritation of the Chalcedonian mob at the proceedings of their sovereign (who everywhere, but especially in Syria, was pressing more and more heavily on those bishops who did not accept the Henoticon), was brought to a crisis by the proceedings of a band of strangers and schismatics, who one Sunday burst into the Chapel of the Archangel in the Imperial Palace, and dared to chaunt the *Te Deum* with the addition of the forbidden words, the war-cry of many an Eutychian mob, 'Who wast crucified for us.' The *Trisagion*, as it was called, the thrice-repeated cry to the Holy One, which Isaiah in his vision heard uttered by the seraphim, became, by the addition of these words, as emphatic a statement as the Monophysite party could desire of their favourite tenet that God, not man, breathed out his soul unto death outside the gates of Jerusalem. What one party asserted with the loud voice of defiant psalmody the other party were of course bound to deny, maintaining their denial, if need were, by force. On the next Sunday the Monophysites sang the verse which was their war-cry in the great Basilica itself. Shouts were *σπακι* into *ὡς ἔ. ἐν σ.* The reading in the *Textus Receptus*, as is well known, is *Θεός*: but Macedonius is not charged, as is sometimes stated, with introducing this reading, but *ὡς*. It is difficult to see what bearing this change would have either way, but the introduction of *Θεός* would hardly be charged upon a Nestorian. The passage, which is in *Liberatus* (*Breviarium*, cap. xix), is important, as showing that *ἐς* was the generally accepted reading in the sixth century.

CH. 10.

The heretical *Trisagion* sung in the Emperor's chapel, 511.

Tumult in the church.

heard from the angry mob ; to shouts succeeded BOOK IV.
taunts ; to taunts blows and strifes. The magis- CH. 10.
trates, acting perhaps at the instigation of the 511.
Emperor, loudly and fiercely upbraided Macedonius as the author of all this tumult. But there were men, well-known faction leaders, on the other side, whose presence goaded the Chalcedonian populace to fury. Chief among these was Severus, who had been throwing all Syria into confusion by his zeal for the condemnation of the synod, and who was to be rewarded for his turbulence by being seated on the episcopal throne of Antioch. It was soon seen on which side the voice of the multitude was given. A vast crowd of citizens, accompanied by and in the
their wives and children, and headed by the abbots city.
of the orthodox monasteries, surged through the streets of Constantinople, shouting, ' Christians, lo, the day of martyrdom ! Let no one abandon our father ! ' They hurled their insults at the Emperor himself, denouncing him as a Manichean, as unworthy to reign.

Anastasius, terrified at the turn which things Anastasius
had taken, ordered the great gates of the palace on is forced to
every side to be barred, and the ships made ready seek a re-
for his flight. So he sat solitary in the vast en- concilia-
closure, trembling at the brutal clamours which tion with
reached him from without. At length he deter- Macedo-
mined to bend to the storm. Though he had sworn nius.
that he would never again look upon the face of Macedonius, he sent some trusty retainers to the Patriarch to beg him to come and salute him. As

banish- ment and deposition of Mace- donius, 511.

His death,
515.

² Named Ascholius (Theod. Lect. ii. 22).

hand a roll, and saying, 'Depart hence, and read what is here written to Anastasius.' In the roll was written, 'I indeed depart to my fathers, whose faith I too have kept. But I shall not cease to importune the Lord until thou comest, that the cause between us two may be brought to judgment.'

Anastasius in fact survived Macedonius three years, but he lived somewhat too long for his fame. The irregular and illegal deposition of the Patriarch is one of the worst acts that can be laid to his charge; and the remaining seven years of his life were poisoned by the results which flowed from it—an ever-increasing unpopularity with his Byzantine subjects, and an ever-dwindling hope of seeing the fires of religious faction dying out and peace restored to the Empire. Again, in the year after the expulsion of Macedonius, the terrible war-cry of the corrupted Trisagion sounded through the streets of Constantinople. It was on a memorable day that the flames of religious war were thus rekindled. The 6th of November in every year was kept as a solemn fast, in memory of that awful day in 472 when the heaven at Constantinople was blackened with the ashes of Vesuvius¹, while half the cities of Asia Minor were rocking with the violence of an earthquake. On the Sunday which

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

The last seven years of Anastasius (511-518) the worst part of his reign.

Again the heretical Trisagion, 512.

¹ We get this fact from Marcellinus. Victor Tunnunensis, who perhaps misunderstood his authority, thinks that the clouds suddenly rained down ashes in 512 on the impious corrupters of the Trisagion.

BOOK IV. preceded the fortieth of these anniversaries, **Ma-**
CH. 10. **rinus, the able but** grasping Prætorian Prefect, and
512. **Plato the Prefect** of the city, were standing in
 their place of honour in the Great Church of Con-
 stantinople, when the singers (as it was believed
 by their command) thundered forth the words,
 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty¹,' with
 the terrible addition breathing defiance, menace,
 and insult, 'Who wast crucified for us.' The or-
 thodox took up the strain and chaunted the verse
 in the way used by their forefathers. Again
 psalmody gave place to blows: men wounded and
 dying lay upon the floor of the church; the ring-
 leaders of the tumult were led off to the dungeons
 of the city. Next day the scene of strife was
 transferred to the atrium or oblong porch in front
 of the Church of St. Theodore, and a yet greater
 slaughter of the champions of the Catholic faith
 took place there. On the third day, the 6th of
 November, the day of the solemn procession, the
 orthodox mob streamed from all parts into the
 great forum. There they swarmed and swayed to
 and fro all that day and all that night, shouting
 forth, not the greatness of the Ephesian Diana, but
 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' without the words 'Who wast
 crucified.' They hewed down the monks—a mino-
 rity of their class—who were on the side of the
 imperial creed, and burned their monasteries with
 fire. They carried the standards of the army and

Disturb-
 ance in the
 city, 6th
 November.

¹ Or rather the form which had then become popular,
 'Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal.'

the keys of the various gates of the city to the Forum, where a sort of camp was established, with monks for its officers. A poor monk from the country was found hiding in the palace of Marinus. Having persuaded themselves that it was by his advice that the deadly words had been added to the hymn, they cut off his head and carried it about on a pole, shouting, 'See the head of an enemy of the Trinity!' The statues of Anastasius were thrown down. The Emperor's nephew Patricius, and Celer Master of the Offices and general-in-chief in the Persian War, were sent to the populace with soothing words; but, notwithstanding their senatorial rank, they were greeted with a shower of stones. Ominous cries claimed the Empire for Areobinda¹, related by marriage to the family of Valentinian III, and a general who had achieved some successes in the Persian War. The houses of Marinus the Prefect and of Pompeius, a nephew of the Emperor, were burned. At length, after two days of continued riot², the triumphant mob, fresh from their work of destruction, brandishing gospel and cross as the ensigns of their war, and shouting 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' without the heretical addition, streamed into the Circus Maximus and stood before the Podium of the

BOOK IV.

CH. 10.

512.

¹ Areobinda or Areobindus, son of Dagalaifus and grandson on his mother's side of the Patrician Ardaburius, married Juliana, daughter of the Emperor Olybrius and granddaughter of Valentinian III. (See genealogy at vol. ii. p. 486.)

² 'Tertio die quam in forum advenerant' (Marcellinus, s. a. 512).

BOOK IV. Emperor.

CH. 10.

512.
Humilia-
tion of
Anasta-
sius.

There on his imperial throne, but without the diadem or the purple, sat the aged monarch (he was now eighty-one years of age), and seemed by his helpless attitude to enquire what was their will. The mob shouted that the two Prefects, Marinus and Plato, should be thrown to the wild beasts. No lighter punishment, in the judgment of those accurate theologians, would suffice for the crime of these men, who had added four words to the Trisagion¹. Anastasius, whose own voice was no doubt 'changed to a childish treble,' could not himself answer the hoarse hymn-shouters, but he bade the criers make proclamation to the people that he was ready, if they wished it, to lay down the burden of empire; but, inasmuch as all could not be masters, it would be necessary that his successor should be chosen. Perhaps this was an adroit device to divide the victorious Chalcedonians, united in opposition to Anastasius, but not united in their choice of Arcobinda or any other successor. Perhaps the mob were touched with pity and relenting at the sight of those white hairs uncrowned and bowed low before them. Whatever the cause, the multitude were appeased. They melted away out of the streets and Forum and back into their homes,

¹ 'In circum ad Anastasium venientes et ante suum solium consistentes, hymnum Trinitatis juxta morem Catholicorum concinentes, conruscansque Evangelium crucemque Christi ferentes, e foro plurimi convenerunt, Marinum Platonemque pravitatis ejus auctores feris subjici conclamantes' (Marcellini Chronicon, s. a. 512).

having received from the Emperor nothing but fair words, perhaps promises and oaths to respect the faith of Chalcedon¹. BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

The promises, if they were given, were not kept ; for, though the Emperor seems to have abstained from again shocking his subjects in the capital by the sound of the heretical Trisagion, he continued, with the help of Timotheus, his Monophysite Patriarch of Constantinople, to rule the Church in the interests of the heretical party, no longer, it would seem, contented with exacting the signature of Zeno's Henoticon, but insisting on an express anathema to the Council of Chalcedon. For refusing this anathema the gentle Flavianus, who had tried to please all parties, and had satisfied none, was thrust out from the see of Antioch, where the busy Monophysite Severus reigned in his stead. All over the East, especially in Syria, was heard the wail of the orthodox for sees widowed of their Catholic bishops and handed over to heretical intruders. The Emperor does not keep his promises.

Catholic bishops driven out from their sees.

The discontent caused by these high-handed proceedings furnished a pretext which enabled a military adventurer named Vitalian to shake the throne of Anastasius. Though the son of an officer War of Vitalian, 514-515.

¹ I do not find the authority for Gibbon's statement that the mob 'accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master without hesitation condemned to the lions.' The deaths of Marinus and Plato were clamoured for ; but where are we told that the mob had their will ? As for Marinus, Evagrius distinctly mentions him as taking part in the latest scenes of the war with Vitalian, three years after this insurrection.

BOOK IV. in the imperial army, Vitalian was of Gothic extraction¹. He was a man of diminutive stature, CH. 10.
514 and had a stutter in his speech: he had all the fire and the courage necessary to lead a band of mutineers and barbarians to victory, and along therewith the address to feign an interest (which he can hardly have felt) in the theological controversy, and to link his cause with that of the prelates deposed for their adherence to the Council of Chalcedon. This was the pretext for rebellion which was flaunted before the eyes of the Byzantine populace, and which has to some extent imposed on later ecclesiastical historians, who have looked upon him as the champion, certainly the ruthless champion, of the Fourth Council of the Catholic faith. The recently-discovered fragments, however, of the history of Joannes Antiochenus² (who evidently drew from nearly contemporary sources) show that the rebellion had a much more ignoble origin. Vitalian had a grievance in his removal from the office of distributor of the rations to the *foederati*; the mutinous soldiers alleged that they had a grievance in the withholding of some arrears of pay; the Huns, who formed perhaps the bulk of the army, needed no excuse at all for their willingness to swarm across the Danube under the guidance of their savage chiefs Saber and Tarrach

¹ Vitalianus Scythia (Marcell. Com. s. a. 514). The suggestion that he was a grandson of Aspar seems to spring from a confusion between his father Patriciolus and Aspar's son Patricius.

² In Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. v.

and the like, and to devastate the cultivated plains of Moesia and Thrace.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

The war was waged chiefly in the neighbourhood of Varna (then called Odessus); but twice, nay three times, Vitalian, by a bold dash through the passes of the Balkan, or by assembling a fleet and sailing along the Euxine coast, succeeded in penetrating to the very suburbs of Constantinople. The first time, Anastasius affixed to the city gates brazen crosses with a long statement of the true origin of the insurrection, to disprove Vitalian's assumption of the character of a champion of the faith. At the same time he promised—and this has an important bearing on our main subject—that 'he would bring men from Old Rome to settle matters concerning the faith.' To remove the discontent of the taxpayers he announced that he remitted a fourth part of the tax on cattle for the provinces of Bithynia and Asia, and deposited the paper containing this pledge on the Holy Table in the Great Church.

514.

Vitalian's first dash at Constantinople.

Proclamation of Anastasius.

For the time Vitalian retired, and the wave of war rolled back across the Balkans. The insurgent general was declared a public enemy by the Senate, and an army of 80,000 men was despatched against him, under the command of the Emperor's nephew Hypatius. The Roman army was encamped behind its waggons at a spot called Akraë, on the sea-coast a little north of Varna. The arrows of the Huns dealt death among the draught oxen, their savage onset broke the line of the

Expedition under Hypatius.

Crushing defeat of the Emperor's troops.

BOOK IV. waggons, and then (we are gravely told), in the
 Ca. 10. mist raised by their enchantments, the panic-

514-

stricken and flying Romans fell into a deep ravine, where they perished, to the number of 60,000. Their dead bodies piled one upon another filled the rocky chasm.

Hypatius fled to the shore and tried to hide himself in the sea, but his head, 'like a sea-bird's,' was seen above the waves: the barbarians dashed into the breakers and captured their valuable prize, the nephew of an Emperor.

Vitalian again before Constantinople,

Vitalian pushed on with a fleet of 200 ships to the suburbs of Constantinople, and overpowered the imperial general John, who rushed into his master's presence and implored him to grant the enemy's terms, however hard they might be. Dispirited by so terrible a defeat of his troops and by the capture of his nephew, Anastasius consented to treat, conferred on Vitalian the dignity of Magister Militum of Thrace, paid him the enormous sum of £200,000 as ransom for Hypatius, and, it is to be feared, made some promises, even swore some oaths, which were not meant to be kept, that he would restore to their episcopal thrones the exiled adherents of Chalcedon.

His third expedition to Constantinople, 515.

The slippery character of Anastasius made it well-nigh impossible for him ever to end a dispute.

Vitalian felt sure that the Emperor was plotting against him, and next year resolved to anticipate the blow by another dash for Constantinople. A battle by land and sea followed, under the very walls of the capital. Now at length fortune turned

against the fiery little Gothic rebel. A rough BOOK IV.
CH. 10. Thracian soldier named Justin, who had fought his way up from the lowest ranks to the position of 515.
Vitalian is
defeated. Captain of the Guard (*Excubitorum Praefectus*), thrust his ship boldly forwards into the hostile fleet, which was commanded by Vitalian himself, grappled a ship, made prisoners of all the soldiers on board, and struck such terror into the sailors of Vitalian that they turned and fled. Seeing this, the army on land fled likewise, leaving heaps of their comrades slaughtered on the field. His flight. Soon the whole force of Vitalian, Huns, mutinous Romans, Goths, had melted away like snow in summer; and the arch-rebel himself, so lately an important personage in the state and the arbiter between contending creeds, slunk away into obscurity, in which he remained for the rest of the reign of Anastasius.

At the end of the year 514, while the rebels' Overtures
by Anasta-
sius to the
Pope,
514. power was still unbroken, the Emperor, in fulfilment of his promise to Vitalian 'to settle the dispute concerning the faith in concert with the Bishop of Old Rome,' sent two letters to Hormisdas, Hormisdas
Pope,
514-523. who now sat in the chair of St. Peter, saying that the common fame of the Pope's gentleness and moderation induced him to break the long silence caused by the harshness of his predecessors, and to suggest that a council, at which the Pope should preside, and in which he should act as mediator, should be held at Heraclea on the shore of the Propontis (about 60 miles west of Constantinople),

BOOK IV. in order to settle the affairs of the Church and heal
 CH. 10. the troubles which had arisen in the province of
 A council Scythia¹. The day for the Council's assembling
 proposed. was to be the 1st of July, 515. Hormisdas sent a
 Reply of prompt and courteous reply, declaring that peace
 Hormis- was his desire, as it had been that of his venerable
 das, predecessors. The time for the Council was too
 515. near, perhaps had been purposely fixed at too early
 a date, to make it possible for the Pope and his
 bishops to attend it; but the ice had now been
 broken, and negotiations between Rome and Con-
 stantinople could go forward, whether the Council
 were ever to assemble or not. On the 8th of July
 Hormisdas again sent a short note to the Emperor,
 commending his zeal for the restoration of unity
 to the Church, and referring him to the five legates
 whom he was at the same time despatching from
 Rome, for fuller information as to the terms upon
 which he would assist at a new Council.

The Pope's The legates (two bishops, a presbyter, a deacon,
 instruc- and a notary) were headed by Ennodius, Bishop of
 tions to his Ticinum, whom we already know so well as bio-
 legates. grapher of Epiphanius and turgid panegyrist of
 Theodoric. The letter of instructions (*Indiculus*)
 addressed to these legates is still preserved; a long
 and circumstantial document and curiously charac-

¹ Anastasius seems to have sent two letters, to nearly the same purport. One was despatched from Constantinople, Dec. 28, 514, and reached Rome on the 14th of May, 515. The other, despatched Jan. 12, 515, was received as early as March 28. The unsettled state of the country, or the fear of winter storms, may have led to the double despatch.

teristic of its author and of the times. Through-
 out the letter runs that almost exaggerated fear of
 Greek subtlety, that sense of inferiority to Greek
 diplomacy, which we trace also in the works of
 Cassiodorus. We have seen how, in instructing
 Theodoric's ambassador¹ to Constantinople, the
 accomplished secretary had warned him of the
 difficulty of dealing with men 'who think they can
 foresee everything.' It was with a determination
 to foresee everything that Hormisdas supplied
 Ennodius and his colleagues with this marvellous
 paper, which sought to anticipate every possible
 opening of the game by the Emperor, and to indi-
 cate the proper reply upon the ecclesiastical chess-
 board. A few extracts may indicate the character
 of these instructions.

BOOK IV.
 CH. 10.
 515.

'When you are come into the parts of Greece, if
 the bishops come out to meet you, receive them
 with all due respect. If they prepare a lodging
 for you, do not refuse it, lest the laity should think
 that the hindrance to concord comes from you.
 But if they ask you to a meal decline with a
 gentle apology², saying, "Pray that we may be
 permitted first to meet at the Mystic Table, and
 then this hospitality of yours will be all the
 sweeter." When by the favour of God you are
 come to Constantinople, lodge in the quarters as-
 signed to you by the most clement Emperor, and
 allow nobody to visit you till you have had your

¹ Agapetus (Var. ii. 6).

² 'Blanda excusatione eos declinate.'

BOOK IV. first audience with him. Afterwards you may
 CH. 10. receive the visits of the orthodox, and of those
 515. who seem to have the cause of union at heart.
 Use caution in conversing with them, and you
 may obtain useful hints for your own guidance.'

'When you are presented to the Emperor, hold out our letter and say, "Your Father salutes you, daily entreating God and commending your kingdom to the intercessions of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, that God who has put this desire into your heart, to work for the happiness of the Church, may carry it on unto perfection."'

'If he wishes to enter on the subject of the embassy before opening our letter, you shall use these words, "Command us to hand you the writings." If he shall say, "What do the papers contain?" reply, "Salutations to your Piety and thanks to God for making you desire the unity of the Church. Read, and you will see." Make no mention of the matter in hand till he has received the letters and read them.'

Reference
to Vitalian.

'After he has done this, add, "Your servant Vitalian, having received, as he said, permission from your Piety, sent his messengers to your Father the holy Pope. To him also we have letters, but, as is fitting, have first directed our course to your Clemency, that we may receive your command to bear our message to him." Should the Emperor ask to see our letters to Vitalian, you must answer, "Your holy father the Pope gave us no such commandment: we cannot do anything of the kind

unbidden. Yet that you may know that they contain nothing but that which furthers your own desire for the unity of the Church, associate with us some person in whose presence the letters which we deliver to Vitalian may be read aloud." If he says again that he ought to read them himself, answer again that the Holy Father did not so order you. If he says, "Is all your message contained in the letters? are there not perhaps some verbal communications beside?" you must answer, "Be that far from our conscience. That is not our custom. We come only in God's service. The Holy Pope's commission is a simple one, and his desire is known to all men, being only this, that the decrees of the fathers be not tampered with, and that heretics may be banished from the Church. Our legation relates to nothing else but this."

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.
515.

We need not closely follow the imaginary interview through all its succeeding stages, which are chiefly theological, not political. At a certain point, it was expected that the Emperor would say, 'We have received and still hold the Synod of Chalcedon and the letters of Pope Leo.' At this confession of faith the legates were to kiss his breast, and to return thanks to God for giving him this conviction of the Catholic faith, preached by the Apostles, without which no man can be orthodox. If he was to try to throw the blame of the schism on the late Pope Symmachus, predecessor of Hormisdas, they were to reply that they had the letters

BOOK IV. of Symmachus in their hands, which contained
CH. 10. **nothing** but exhortations to persevere in the faith
515. **of Chalcedon.** They were then to have recourse to
 prayers and tears, saying, 'Lord Emperor! think
 upon God: place before your eyes his coming
 judgment. The holy fathers who taught thus have
 but followed the Apostles' faith, by which was
 builded up the Church of Christ.'

After a good deal more imaginary debate the
 legates were again to shed tears, and to allude in
 a humble and delicate way to the controversy
 which distracted the Church of Constantinople
 itself. The Emperor would perhaps say, 'You are
 talking about Macedonius; I understand your
 finesse. He is a heretic: it is quite impossible
 that he should be recalled¹.' Then the legates were
 to reply, 'We, Lord Emperor, mention no one by
 name. But let your Piety consider, from your
 own point of view, how much better it would be
 that there should be a discussion on this point,
 and that his heresy, if he be a heretic, should be
 judicially settled, rather than that the orthodox
 should think him to be unjustly deposed.'

This brought them to the question of the legiti-
 macy of the consecration of Timotheus, whom the
 legates were immovably to refuse to recognise in
 any way as legitimate Patriarch of Constantinople.
 They were not to allow themselves to be presented

¹ Macedonius died in the year of this embassy (515), but the tidings of his death, if it had already happened, had not reached Rome in August, when Hormisdas prepared this paper of instructions.

by him to the Emperor, and if he was standing by the throne they were to ask for a secret interview, in which they would deliver the papal commission.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.
515.

Finally, they were to announce to Anastasius that the terms upon which Hormisdas would consent to waive a point of personal dignity, and come to preside at a council held out of Rome, were, (1) public recognition of the Council of Chalcedon and the letters of Leo ; (2) public anathematisation of the heretics Nestorius, Eutyches, and the like, who had, on one side or the other, deviated from Chalcedonian orthodoxy, and express inclusion of the name of Acacius among these heretics ; (3) the recall of all bishops sent into exile for their fidelity to the Roman see ; and (4) the removal of the cases of all bishops banished for any ecclesiastical offence, to Rome, there to be tried by the Apostolic See. In fact these terms, however gently and persuasively and tearfully urged, involved a surrender at discretion of all the points at issue between Emperor and Pope.

The Pope's
terms.

How the actual interview between the aged Anastasius and the verbose Ennodius and his colleagues passed off we are unable to say, but, as they could not arrive in Constantinople till October, 515, it is easy to imagine that they found the Emperor in a mood little disposed for conciliation. The Pope's correspondent Vitalian had doubtless before that time met his crushing defeat at the hands of Justin. Now that he was a fugitive, and

BOOK IV. his wild Hunnish marauders were scattered to the
 CH. 10. winds, the bland excuses, the accurately measured
 515. tears, and the punctilious breast-kissings of the
 Roman envoys might even be found somewhat
 burdensome by the Byzantine Cæsar.

Reply of
 Anastasius.

Still, the negotiations were not wholly dropped, though the proposed Council faded more and more into oblivion. In a long letter sent back by the hands of Ennodius, Anastasius declared his adhesion to the teaching of Leo and Chalcedon, but suggested that it was hard that living men should be kept out of the Church on account of the dead, and that to anathematise Acacius would cause the effusion of much human blood.

His embassy to
 Rome,
 516.

In July of the following year he sent two high officers of his Court, Theopompus Count of the Domestics (an Illustis) and Severianus Count of the Consistory (a Clarissimus), with letters both to the Pope and the Senate. The first letter was chiefly filled with excuses, somewhat hollow excuses, for his tardy action in the matter of the reunion of the Churches. The length of the journey and the unusual severity of the preceding winter are made to bear the burden of this delay. The other letter throws an interesting light on the difficult question of the relations existing between the Cæsar of Byzantium, the Gothic King, and the Senate of Rome. It begins:—

28 July,
 516.

‘The Emperor Cæsar Flavius Anastasius, pious, fortunate, victorious, ever august, renowned conqueror of the Germans, of the Franks, of the

Sarmatians¹, father of his country, says Hail! to the pro-consuls, the consuls, the prætors, the tribunes of the commons, and to his Senate. If you and your children are in good health it is well. I and my army are in good health also.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

516.
Letter of
Anastasius
to 'his
Senate.'

In using this well-known classical formula, the Emperor says 'I and my army' where Cicero would have said 'I and Terentia,' to indicate the close bond of union which in theory always existed between the Imperator and his dutiful soldiers. The use of the possessive pronoun before Senate² must, one would think, have jarred upon the ears of Theodoric, when he heard the document read in his *Comitatus* at Ravenna.

The rest of the letter was couched in terms which would not be displeasing to the Gothic King. The Emperor begged the Conscript Fathers to join their prayers with his, prayers which might reasonably be expected to avail 'both with the most glorious King and with the very blessed Pope of the fair city of Rome' for the restoration of peace. And again, near the close of the letter, they are asked to use their utmost efforts for this end, 'both with the exalted King to whom the power and the responsibility of ruling you is committed, and with the venerable Pope, to whom is entrusted the capacity to intercede for you with God.' It would be difficult to express

recognises
the 'most
glorious
king' The-
odoric.

¹ For obvious reasons Anastasius does not call himself Gotthicus in this document.

² 'Senatuique suo salutem dicit.'

BOOK IV. more clearly that Constantinople recognised, as in
 CH. 10. some sense legitimate, the rule of Theodoric.

517.
 The Senate's answer. The Senate replied to the Emperor in a letter full of suitable quotations from Scripture on the beauty of peace and the blessings of charity. The sentiments which they express are excellent, and it is only when one sees the title at the beginning, and thinks of those grey old war-wolves who used to be the terror of Italy and the world, that one feels a slight sense of incongruity in the thought that this meritorious, if somewhat vapid, pastoral was addressed to a Roman Emperor by a Roman Senatus. They accept the designation of *your* Senate, and say that 'the mind of our lord and most unconquered King, your son Theodoric, who orders obedience to your commands,' tends in the same direction as that of Anastasius.

Petulant
 letter
 from Hormisdas,
 3 April,
 517.

The real pivot of the negotiation however was, of course, neither King nor Senate, but Pope. Hormisdas, who was offended¹, somewhat unreasonably one would think, at the Emperor's having sent only laymen, though laymen of high rank, as his ambassadors, had come to the conclusion that the Greeks talked of peace with their lips, but did not care for it in their hearts, and while sending Ennodius on a second embassy to the Emperor, charged him with a letter, written in somewhat sharper tone than those which had preceded it, insisting on the absolutely indispensable damnation of Acacius. Acacius had rolled

¹ See his letter to Avitus (Ep. x. p. 395, ap. Migne).

himself in all the mire of Peter the Stammerer, Dioscorus, and Eutyches. Acacius had spread the poison of Monophysite heresy, which before had only infected Alexandria, far and wide through the Churches. The wound of the Church could not be healed without his damnation. As for the angry feeling which such a proceeding might raise among the mob, sovereigns could bend their subjects to their will. Who heard anything about the wishes of the populace when Marcian, of religious memory, established the faith of Chalcedon? And so the letter ended with an earnest, almost imperious call to the Emperor to acquiesce in the monitions of his spiritual father.

Ennodius and his colleague Peregrinus reached Constantinople at the beginning of July. The Emperor, who for all his eighty-six summers was by this time thoroughly aroused by the obstinacy of the Pope, and who perhaps had ceased to care greatly about the question of reunion, entirely refused to accept the terms of Hormisdas, and forced the legates out of the city, charging the two Prefects¹ with a band of Inland Revenue officers² to accompany them on ship-board, and to see that they landed at no city of the Empire. Notwithstanding this pressure, however, they contrived to hand to their monkish partisans in the

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.
517.

The Pope's
second em-
bassy to
Constanti-
nople,
July, 517.

The legates
rebuffed.

¹ Probably of the East and of Constantinople.

² Magistriani (I cannot find an exact equivalent for the term).

BOOK IV
Ch. 10.

517.

Final and
final
answer
of Ana-
stasius,
11 July,
517.

capital the copies of a protest which they had prepared for circulation through all the Eastern Churches.

To Hormisdas the Emperor addressed a short but dignified letter, which, after some rather commonplace reflections upon the mercy and long-suffering of the Most High, he thus concluded:—

‘We think, therefore, that those who have themselves received mercy, ought not to show themselves merciless. But from henceforth we shall keep silence as to the request which we made of you, thinking it absurd to show the courtesy of prayers to men who stubbornly refuse all that is asked of them. We can bear insults and contempt, but we cannot allow ourselves to be commanded.’

Death of
Anasta-
sius,
8 July,
518.

So ended the correspondence between Anastasius and Hormisdas. In the following year the aged Emperor died¹. Strange portents, according to the ecclesiastical historians, marked his death.

Ecclesiastical fables
respecting
it.

A terrible thunderstorm was raging, and Anastasius, to whom it had been foretold that he should die by such a storm, crept into an inner apartment² and was there found by his servants dead; but whether struck by a flash of lightning, or slain only by his own fears, none could tell. On the same day Elias, the deposed Patriarch of

¹ His wife Ariadne, who had passed nearly sixty years in the imperial palace, died in the year 515.

² Which, according to Zonaras, he had caused to be built underground and covered with a dome (θαλας).

Jerusalem, had a revelation that the Emperor was dead, and that he himself was to follow in ten days to bear witness against him before the throne of God. A short time before the death of the Emperor, according to the foolish story of some late writers¹, a man clothed in white raiment was seen by him in a vision, turning over the leaves of a book which he held in his hand. With a frown the supernatural visitor said, 'In punishment for thy impiety, behold I strike off fourteen—,' and therewith cancelled fourteen years of the Emperor's life, who, it seems, might otherwise have attained the age of a hundred and one.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

518.

All this stir in heaven and earth over the death of a sovereign who had entered his eighty-eighth year, may, at any rate, be taken as a proof that he had not sunk into dotage, but had still energy enough to inspire energetic hatred. We picture him to ourselves with his tall figure still unbowed by age, with his steel-blue eyes not dimmed, nor the vigour of his intellect abated. Two testimonies which we possess concerning him outweigh many of the fierce censures of his ecclesiastical opponents: the acclamation 'Reign as you have lived!' with which the populace hailed the news of his accession, and the phrase 'sweetest-tempered of sovereigns²' which the notary Lydus, years after his death, when nothing was to be gained by

Review of
his life.

¹ Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes.

² Ὑπὸ τῷ πάντων βασιλείων ἡμερωτάτῳ Ἀναστασίῳ (De Mag. iii. 26).

BOOK IV.

CH. 10.

518.

praising him, dropped by his half-forgotten grave. Yet, with many noble qualities, Anastasius hardly attained to greatness. He allowed himself to be forced from a position of calm impartiality between warring sects, into one of bitter partisanship on behalf of a single sect, and that the one which has eventually been judged heretical. And in his dealings both with the external and internal enemies of the Empire, he certainly showed himself more a Greek than a Roman in his lack of the kingly quality of truthfulness.

Accession
of Justin.

On the very day of the death of Anastasius, Justin, Captain of the Guard, and lately the conqueror of Vitalian, was raised to the throne, nominally by the Senate, but really by the household troops. The means by which this rough and illiterate Thracian soldier attained to the first place in the civilised world were simple, if not in the highest degree praiseworthy. Amantius, an eunuch and Grand Chamberlain¹, who had been all-powerful in the later years of Anastasius, desired to maintain his hold of power by placing on the throne a certain Theocritus, whom he deemed to be entirely devoted to his interests. For this purpose he deposited a large sum in the hands of Justin, to be distributed as a donative to the soldiers of the guard, who were under his orders. Justin, however, who was an adherent of the faith as formulated at Chalcedon, perceived that he would better serve the interests of orthodoxy, and his

How
brought
about.

¹ Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi.

own, by seating himself upon the vacant throne rather than Theocritus, and used the gold of Amantius for that purpose. BOOK IV.
CH. 10.
518.

It was an unusual sight to see in the palace of the emperors a peasant-born soldier who could neither read nor write, and who, like Theodoric the Goth (if indeed the story be true of Theodoric), must needs affix his sign-manual to the state-papers by drawing the stylus dipped in purple ink through four holes for letters prepared in a metal plate. His wife Lupicina also, who took the name Euphemia, was not of illustrious origin, being a barbarian slave whom her future husband bought as his concubine. All, however, in the eyes of the populace was condoned by the undoubted orthodoxy of the new Emperor, by the delight of having again a ruler who adhered to the Council of Chalcedon. His want
of educa-
tion.

His wife
formerly
a slave.

Their or-
thodoxy.

On the first Sunday after Justin's elevation the people crowded into the Great Church, and when the Patriarch John—the successor of Timotheus and believed to be in sympathy with Chalcedon—appeared at the Ambo, they shouted out, 'Long life to the Emperor! Long life to the Patriarch! Anathema to Severus [Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch]. Why do we remain excommunicated? Carry out the bones of the Manicheans. He who does not shout is a Manichean. Mary the mother of God is worthy of the throne. Bishop! speak or leave the church. Proclaim the faith of Chalcedon. The Emperor is a Catholic: what are you afraid of? Long life to the new Constantine! to Scene in
the Great
Church,
15 July,
518.

BOOK IV. the new Helena! *Justine Auguste tu vincas.*' This
 CH. 10. official formula of salutation to a new Emperor
 518. was uttered in the Latin tongue, all the rest of
 the excited utterances of the crowd being in their
 vernacular Greek. With difficulty the Patriarch
 persuaded them to hold their peace till he should
 have kissed the altar and celebrated mass. This
 done, the shouters resumed their self-imposed toils.
 At length the Patriarch mounted the Ambo and
 said, 'You know, brethren, how many labours I
 have undergone in past years for the faith. There
 is no need for disturbance. We all receive the
 four great Councils, including that of Chalcedon.'
 'No,' said the shouting crowd, 'that is not enough.
 Anathematise Severus: proclaim a feast in honour
 of the Council of Chalcedon. We will stay here all
 night if you do not. You shall not depart till you
 have anathematised Severus.'

The Mono-
 physites
 anathema-
 tised.

At length, with an appearance of yielding to
 the wishes of the mob, but probably with a con-
 sciousness of having prepared the whole scene
 himself in concert with his master, the Patriarch
 announced that it should be as they wished. In
 unison with a large number of bishops from
 neighbouring dioceses, present in the basilica, he
 formally anathematised Severus, and announced
 that on the following day (16th July) there
 should be a solemn ceremony in honour of the
 Holy Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon.

On the morrow, when this rite was ended,
 there was a renewal of the same disorderly cries.

'Anathema to the Nestorians. I do not know who BOOK IV.
is a Nestorian. Anathema to the Eutychians. Dig CH. 10.
up their bones. Cast the bones of the Manicheans 518.
out of doors. *Justine Auguste tu vincas*¹.' Mingled Cries
with these shouts were heard ominous growls at against
Amantius.
Amantius the Manichean, which indicate pretty
plainly who had been tuning the voices of these
tumultuary theologians. In fact, the Eunuch,
whose gold had been so adroitly used against
him, was very shortly after these days of clamour
put out of the way by the new Emperor.

There was a moment of real sublimity in the Ceremony
ceremony of the 16th of July. This was when the in honour
Patriarch ascended the Ambo, with the diptychs of the
in his hands, and read from them, amid the deep Council of
silence which had fallen upon the shouting crowd, Chalcedon,
the names of the four Councils which the Church of 16 July.
Constantinople held in highest reverence, Nicæa,
Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Then
followed the names of the bishops who had de-
parted this life in the faith and fear of God, and
with whom the Church still maintained her mystic
and invisible communion. Towards the close of
this mighty roll of names came Leo, Pontiff of
Rome, and Euphemius and Macedonius, Arch-
bishops of the kingly city of Constantinople. At
this sound, which announced to their ears the
termination of the controversy of a life-time, the
populace burst into a loud and joyful shout, 'Glory

¹ 'Curatorem non habes.' What could be the meaning of
this addition to the popular acclamation?

BOOK IV. be to 'Thee, O Lord.' So, after nearly forty years of
Ch. 10. imperfect acquiescence or actual opposition, did the
§18. Church of Constantinople return to unhesitating
 allegiance to the faith as formulated at Chalcedon.

Terms of Not yet, however, was Rome fully appeased, nor
reunion could she yet welcome the Eastern Church as wholly
still to be purified from her error. The theological question
arranged was settled, but the more important personal
with Rome. question remained open. Nay, even the recent
 triumph of the orthodox populace was stained
 with some disrespect to the chair of St. Peter,
 since Rome could not admit that even Euphemius
 and Macedonius, however manfully they might
 have struggled against a Manichean Emperor,
 could rightly have their names recited in the
 Church's diptychs.

Letter Communications were soon opened between
from Jus- Constantinople and Rome. The new Emperor
tin to Hor- wrote a short letter to the Pope in which he an-
misdas, nounced that, by the favour of the indivisible
1 Aug. 518. Trinity, of the nobles of the palace and the most
 holy Senate, and by the choice of his brave army,
 he had been elected to the Empire; and he dared
 to add that he had been most unwilling to accept
 the honour. Hormisdas replied, and letters passed
 backwards and forwards for some months between
 the two capitals. The chief part in the correspond-
 ence on the side of Byzantium was played, not by
 the illiterate Justin, but by his nephew, a man in
 early middle life, holding the high office of Count
 of the Domestics, and who showed already great

Corre-
spondence
chiefly con-
ducted by
the Em-
peror's
nephew
Justinian.

talents for theological disputation. This literary
assessor of Justin was Justinian.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

In the letters sent from Constantinople a faint-hearted attempt was made to save Acacius from damnation. Hormisdas saw that the Emperor really desired reunion; and firmly, but with more gentleness than he had used towards the heretical Anastasius, insisted that those who were sincere in anathematising Eutyches must also anathematise Acacius. The real stress of the contest probably bore, not so much on the name of Acacius, whom both Emperor and people were willing to surrender to damnation, as on the names of the beloved and venerated Euphemius and Macedonius, whom the Pope insisted, not indeed on formally branding with his anathema, but on silently omitting from the diptychs.

Bargaining
about the
damnation
of Acacius
and his
successors.

At length affairs were ripe for the reception of an embassy from the Pope, and eight months after Justin's elevation to the throne the papal legates arrived at Constantinople. They were charged with letters to the Emperor, the Empress, the Patriarch, the Archdeacon and clergy of Constantinople, to Count Justinian and other courtiers, and to two noble ladies—perhaps members of the family of Anastasius—who were named Anastasia and Palmatia, and who had apparently, in the evil days of the preceding reign, signalised themselves by their zeal for the faith of Chalcedon. The legates had also an *Indiculus* for their own private use, telling them how far to go and where to stand

Arrival of
the Pope's
legates,
25 March,
519.

Their *In-
diculus* and
Libellus.

BOOK IV. firm in their debate with the Emperor, and a
 CH. 10. *Libellus* or formula of submission and profession
 519. of faith to be signed by all those who wished to
 re-enter into communion with the Holy See.

Reception
 of the
 legates.

The Pope's messengers had no reason to complain of want of cordiality in their reception at Constantinople. At the tenth milestone from the city they were met by a brilliant throng of courtiers and nobles. At the head of the procession were Vitalian, the little eager soldier who had borne arms for the faith of Chalcedon, Pompeius the nephew of the late Emperor, and Justinian the nephew of the reigning Emperor. Thus did the evening and morning stars of the monarchy meet to do them reverence.

In the
 Imperial
 presence,
 26 March.

On the next day they stood in the presence of Justin and the Senate. The Patriarch of Constantinople, though favourable to reunion, would not compromise his dignity by appearing in person, but was represented by four of his suffragan bishops. To an invitation from the Emperor that they should argue the matters recently in debate between the two sees, the legates replied that they had no instructions to argue, but only to produce the Pope's letters and the *Libellus*, which must be signed by all bishops who desired to be reconciled to the Apostolic see. The *Libellus* was read; the representatives of the Patriarch pronounced it to be consistent with the truth. The Emperor and the Senators burst out into impatient exclamations, 'If it be true, sign it at once, and make an end of

The Patriarch signs the *Libellus*,
 27 March.

the matter.' A day, however, had to elapse, and then the Libellus was put before the Patriarch, who was now present in the palace. He, even in accepting it, dexterously contrived to save some shreds of the dignity of his see. A Libellus was generally subscribed by those who had fallen from the faith, and was thus an admission of guilt. He wrote a clever prologue, turning it into a letter of friendship, addressed 'to his most blessed brother and fellow-servant Hormisdas.' He declared that he held the two Churches of the old Rome and the new to be one Church, and one seat of the Apostle Peter; and then, after these precautionary words and a statement of his acceptance of the four great Councils, he adopted uncompromisingly the whole of the Libellus, with its strong assertion of the office of Peter and the Apostolic see as guardians of the Catholic religion, and its condemnation of the usual string of heretics, beginning with Nestorius and ending with Timothy the Weasel and Peter the Stammerer. Then came the clause of special interest, the key of the whole battle-field. 'Similarly we anathematise Acacius, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, who made himself accomplice and follower of these heretics, together with all who persevered in their fellowship and communion.' In these last words lay a covert if not an express anathema for all the recent bishops of Constantinople.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.
519.

Anathema
on Acacius.

Next came the solemn act of erasing from the diptychs, and thus striking out of the communion

Striking
the names
of heretical

BOOK IV. of the Church the names of Zeno and Anastasius
CH. 10. the emperors, as well as of Acacius and his four
519. successors in the see of Constantinople, including
emperors and patri-
 archs out
 of the
 diptychs. those two honoured names which had so recently
 been replaced there, the names of Euphemius and
 Macedonius. This was done, not only in the Pa-
 triarchal Basilica but in all the churches of Con-
 stantinople. The legates recorded with wonder and
 gratitude to God and St. Peter that none of the
 evil consequences which had been threatened,
 neither tumult nor shedding of blood, followed this
 act, which must, one would think, have torn the
 hearts of many thousands of the people of Con-
 stantinople who had loved and well-nigh worshipped
 the excommunicated prelates.

The East
 and West
 reunited.

After such an immense surrender as this, the
 rest of the work of reunion all over the East,
 except at Monophysite Alexandria, was compara-
 tively easy, nor need we trouble ourselves with
 any further details of what had now become a
 mere matter of formal negotiation. Thus then
 ended the first great schism between the Eastern
 and Western Churches. Followed as it has been
 in later ages by other and more enduring divisions,
 which have produced results of world-historical
 importance, this schism will hardly be deemed
 unworthy of the space which has here been de-
 voted to it. While it lasted, it secured fair play, at
 least, for the young kingdom of Theodoric. Its
 termination was an event of evil augury for the
 Ostrogothic power; and the peace of the Church,

by no very remote chain of causes and effects, involved war for Italy.

BOOK IV.
CH. 10.

Looked at merely as a question of spiritual strategy, and without any reference to the spirit and maxims of Christianity, the action of the Popes during the forty years of the struggle must be pronounced most masterly. It was necessary to show to all the world that no act of importance could take place in any of the Churches of Christendom without their consent. Acacius had presumed to endeavour to carry through Zeno's scheme of comprehension without the sanction of the Pope, and therefore, though personally orthodox, Acacius must suffer eternal torment. That end was now attained as far as ecclesiastical censures could secure it; and it might be expected that it would be long before another Patriarch of Constantinople would incur the same tremendous penalty. It is a new warfare in which the Popes are engaged, those venerable men whose faces in almost endless series look down on the visitor to Rome from the walls of S. Paolo. Legates are their proconsuls, monks their legionaries, the Churches of foreign lands their provinces, the sentence of eternal damnation the *pilum* with which those provinces shall be won. They plan their campaigns with the skill of a Scipio, and they fight them through with the fortune as well as with the relentlessness of a Sulla. This at least is their general character; but in their career of conquest, as in that of the Republic which preceded them, there are occasional vicissi-

Splendid
strategy of
the Popes.

BOOK IV. tudes of defeat. We have just been tracing the
CH. 10. history of the Acacian war, crowned by the victory
of Constantinople. Thirty years later we shall
have to witness the defeat and surrender of Vigi-
lius at the same place ; a calamity for the pontifical
arms as great and as bitterly resented as that
which befell the Roman legions on the disastrous
day of Caudium.

CHAPTER XI.

THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH.

Authorities.

Sources:—

ENNODIUS, *Libellus Apologeticus pro Synodo*, a little BOOK IV. pamphlet in defence of the Synod which reinstated Pope CH. 11. Symmachus. Ennodius gives that version of the confused transactions of 498–501, which is most favourable to Symmachus. On the same side, but with no great sign of partisanship, is ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (in the third volume of Muratori). On the other hand, we have (in the second part of the same volume¹) an anonymous *VITA SYMMACHI*, which takes a bitterly hostile view of all the proceedings of this Pope, and is evidently the work of some adherent of the Laurentian faction. The acts of the successive councils will be found in Labbe and Mansi's *Concilia*, tom. viii. pp. 230–344.

Guides:—

Baronius (*Annales Ecclesiastici*), Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*), and Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*). Pagi, who sometimes gives us useful corrections of Baronius, seems here to have hindered rather than helped the unravelling of the story of the councils held in connection with the disputed election of Symmachus.

It was a singular coincidence that for nearly thirty years at the close of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, the three greatest monarchies of the civilised world were ruled by sovereigns

Want of religious agreement between sovereigns and their subjects,

¹ P. 45.

BOOK IV. whose religious opinions differed from those of
 CH. 11. their subjects.

at Constantinople,

We have seen the troubles which befell Anastasius, because the mob of Constantinople could never be satisfied that he held the right opinion as to the union of the Divine and the Human in the person of Jesus Christ.

at Ctesiphon,

Across the Euphrates, Kobad¹ had to atone for his acceptance of the reformed Zoroastrianism of Mazdak by three years of imprisonment in 'the Castle of Oblivion.' He regained the kingdom only by the arms of the White Huns, and when once again seated on the throne and wearing the diadem of the King of kings, he found it prudent to effect a compromise between his personal and his official consciences. As a man he still held the wild communistic faith of Mazdak, but as king he ruled upon the old lines and respected the rights of property both in jewels and in wives².

¹ The reign of Kobad lasted from 487 to 498, and from 501 to 531.

² According to Rawlinson's description, the teaching of Mazdak must have had some similarity to modern Nihilism. 'All men were born equal: none brought into the world any property or any natural right to possess more than another. Property and marriage were mere human inventions:—in communities based upon them, men might lawfully vindicate their natural rights by taking their fair share of the good things wrongfully appropriated by their fellows. Adultery, incest, theft, were not really crimes, but necessary steps towards re-establishing the laws of nature in such societies.' Yet Mazdak himself was a man of austere life, and preached these doctrines 'not from any base or selfish motive, but simply from a conviction of their truth' (Seventh Oriental Monarchy, 343).

In Italy, Theodoric, unshaken in the Arianism BOOK IV.
CH. 11. which had been, probably for a century, the faith of his forefathers, ruled over a people the vast and at
Ravenna. majority of whom were Trinitarians, but ruled so justly that, as we have seen¹, even orthodox bishops loudly praised his fairness and moderation. So thoroughly was it understood that the Catholic Religious
imparti-
ality of
Theodoric. had at least an equal chance with the Arian of obtaining the royal favour that, in a story which was current not long after his death, he was even represented as putting to death a Catholic deacon who had embraced the creed of the court in order to ingratiate himself with his sovereign². Historians are probably right in rejecting this story, which would indeed have been a striking example of 'an intolerant love of toleration:' but the fact that it should have obtained currency, is a striking proof that his subjects recognised the earnest desire of their sovereign to keep a perfectly even balance between the two warring creeds. In this respect Theodoric stands out in marked contrast to most of the other Teutonic rulers. While the barbarian Gaiseric and his son plunge with blind zeal into the theological fray, cut out the tongues and rack the limbs of Catholic bishops, while the hypocrite Clovis makes his pretended zeal for the

¹ See the extract from the Anonymus Valesii in chapter viii.

² This story is told by the nearly contemporary Theodorus Lector (p. 193, ed. Migne), as well as by the late and legend-loving Theophanes (p. 122, ed. of 1655). The early date of the former writer causes me to speak of the tale a little more respectfully than some of my predecessors.

BOOK IV. Catholic faith an excuse for invading the fair
 CH. 11.

lands of his kinsman and ally, Theodoric with this noble sentence on his lips, 'We cannot command the religion of our subjects, since no one can be forced to believe against his will,'¹ pursues, perhaps unconsciously, the truly statesmanlike, truly reverent, policy of Valentinian I, and, leaving each man to answer to his Maker for his thoughts concerning Him, uses the power of the State only for the punishment of those deeds whereby the State is endangered.

His protection of the Jews.

This absolute impartiality in matters of religion extended even to the Jews; and herein is one of the strongest proofs that it was not a mere counsel of convenience, but that it sprang from conviction deeply rooted in the sovereign's mind. It would have been easy for him, as an Arian, to curry favour with the orthodox party by showing that he could be as bitter as any of them against the Jewish enemies of the faith. Instead of this, any offence against *Civilitas* was punished with equal severity, whether Jew or Christian complained of its perpetration. At Rome, at Milan, at Ravenna, the Jews were at various times attacked by furious mobs, their Synagogues burned², and their persons ill-treated. Of course, there was the usual crop of stories to justify the popular fury, stories like those which three centuries before had stirred up

¹ 'Religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat invitus' (Cass. Var. ii. 27).

² This happened only at Rome and Ravenna.

the same kind of mobs to do violence to the impious Nazarenes. The Jews in the Trastevere had beaten their Christian servants, the Jews at Ravenna had performed some insulting parody of Christian baptism. But the decision of Theodoric was firm. The order of the State should be upheld, and those who transgressed it, whether Jews or Christians, should be punished. The Synagogues were to be rebuilt at the cost of the persons by whom they had been destroyed, and the authors of the tumult were to be severely punished. *— stop*

True, the Gothic King, or his Secretary for him, in one of the letters announcing these decisions¹, made a pathetic appeal to the Jews to escape from the future punishment of their misbelief—an appeal which would hardly appear at the end of a similar state-paper issued in our own times. 'But why, oh Jew! dost thou seek by thy supplications to us for temporal quietness, if thou art not able to find the rest which is eternal?' But the long oppressed nation did not resent a word or two of disapprobation for their theology, while their material rights were safe-guarded by so firm a hand. They gave their strong, hearty, and unwavering loyalty to the Gothic rule in Italy: and, when we come to the story of the final contest between King and Emperor, we shall find that, as certainly as the Catholic priest is on the side of Justinian, so certainly is the Jewish merchant on that of Witigis or Totila.

¹ Cass. Var. v. 37.

BOOK IV. From the impartial, almost friendly attitude
 CH. 11. which Theodoric assumed towards the Catholic
 Church through the greater part of his reign, he
 naturally exercised a great moral influence in
 addition to the political rights which belonged to
 him as head of the State, at that time of trouble
 and anxiety, both for Church and State, a con-
 tested Papal election.

His posi-
 tion at the
 time of
 contested
 papal elec-
 tions.

Pope Ge-
 lasius,
 2 March
 492 to
 19 Nov.
 496.

In tracing the history of the schism between
 the Eastern and Western Churches, we have come
 down to the pontificate of Hormisdas. Remount-
 ing the stream of Papal history, we find that the
 occupant of St. Peter's chair at the accession of
 Theodoric was the vigorous and uncompromising
 Gelasius. In the pontificate of Gelasius the con-
 troversy with Constantinople was conducted with
 at least as much vigour and asperity as had
 marked the spiritual war under the generalship of
 Felix. Happily, however, we may now turn from
 this monotonous controversy to behold the Pope
 trampling out the dying, but not quite dead,
 embers of Paganism. There was still a party at
 Rome, with the Senator Andromachus at their
 head, who wished to keep up the old heathen
 orgies of the Lupercalia, that strange rite made
 memorable by Mark Antony's share in it, on the day
 when, after running naked through the Forum,
 he knelt down and offered the diadem to Caesar.
 This custom had not been suppressed along with
 the other heathen observances, and now Andro-
 machus and his party wished to perpetuate it

His oppo-
 sition to the
 Lupercalia.

They pleaded that none of the earlier Popes had objected to the rite. It used to be thought that the touch of the Lupercalian's thong falling on the shoulders of the Roman matrons brought with it a peculiar good fortune. It could, at any rate, do no harm to keep alive so ancient a custom. Gelasius replied, with bitter scorn, that though earlier pontiffs might not have been strong enough to suppress the heathen observance, he was, and would exercise his power. If Andromachus and his party really believed the Lupercalia to be a religious act, let them take the shame of it on themselves, themselves rush about like naked madmen through the streets, and not, as was now the custom, put off the shame of it upon others, their inferiors in rank. The observance of the Lupercalia had not brought luck to Rome in past times, had not saved her from the sword of Alaric or the ships of Gaiseric. Nay, even in later days, the terrible scenes which marked the strife between Anthemius and Ricimer had not been averted by this silly and licentious rite. He could not lay down the law for Pagans, but to Christians he spoke in a voice to which they must hearken. No baptized person, no Christian, should dare to take part in the impious orgy: if he did, he should be without hesitation cut off from the communion of the faithful¹.

We know not the result, but it cannot be

¹ The letter of Gelasius is to be found in the 59th vol. of Migne's *Patrologia*, pp. 110-113.

BOOK IV. doubted that such a mandate, coming from such
 CH. 11. lips, was sufficient to destroy the Lupercalian
 festival.

Pope Ana-
 stasius II,
 25 Nov.
 496 to
 17 Nov.
 498.

Gelasius was succeeded by the gentle Anasta-
 sius ; and, on the death of this conciliatory Pontiff,
 Festus the ambassador who had just visited Con-
 stantinople with a commission both from the Pope
 and the King, and who had succeeded in making
 peace on behalf of the latter for his 'pre-assump-
 tion of the kingdom,' endeavoured to further the
 cause of unity by procuring the election of a Pope
 who would look favourably on the Henoticon of
 Zeno. Both at Old and New Rome, symptoms may
 be discerned of a disposition on the part of the aris-
 tocrats to press this creation of statesmen, this
politically concocted 'end of controversy,' on the
 rulers of the Church ; while the lower classes and
 the monks, seeing perhaps less of the necessities
 of the position, stood immutably faithful to the
 Tome of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon.

Efforts of
 Festus on
 behalf of
 the Heno-
 ticon.

He puts
 forward
 Laurentius
 as a can-
 didate for
 the papacy,
 22 Nov.
 498.
 Double
 election :
 Laurentius
 and Sym-
 machus.

The candidate whom Festus, in the interests
 of his scheme of church union, desired to see
 made Pope, was the Arch-Presbyter Laurentius,
 who was elected a few days after the death of
 Anastasius in the great Liberian Basilica¹. On
 the same day, however, a larger body of clergy,
 assembled in the Lateran Church, had elected as
 Pope the deacon Symmachus, a native of Sardinia,
 whose consecration was accomplished before that
 of his rival.

¹ Church of S. Maria Maggiore.

Here then was the city plunged anew into all the miseries and the turmoil of a contest for the chair of St. Peter. Blood had already begun to flow in the streets of Rome, when the wise resolution was taken, to refer the whole matter in dispute to the arbitration of Theodoric. The rival candidates appeared accordingly in his palace at Ravenna, and claimed his award. Political reasons would probably have inclined him to support the candidate of Festus, who had so successfully served him at the court of Anastasius, but his instinctive love of justice prevailed. 'The candidate first elected, if also the candidate elected by most voices, ought to be Pope.' He who fulfilled these conditions was Symmachus.

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.

The dispute referred to Theodoric.

His decision.

A council, the first of many on this business, was called at St. Peter's on the 1st of March in the following year. Symmachus, who had convened the council, was recognised as regularly elected Pope; and decrees were made against the practice of canvassing for votes in anticipation of a vacancy in the Holy See, and for the regulation of future contested elections in the case of the Pope's dying suddenly without having been able to arrange for the election of his successor¹.

Symmachus Pope.
Council at St. Peter's,
1 Mar. 499.

The victory of Symmachus, however, was only apparent. Though Laurentius, who seems to have

Reaction in favour of Laurentius.

¹ Though a dying Pope could not absolutely nominate his successor, great weight was attached to his *recommendation*, which it seems to have been a matter of course for him to utter.

BOOK IV. been a man of peaceable disposition, was willing
 CH. 11. to acquiesce in his defeat, and even accepted the
 bishopric of Nocera from his rival, his partisans,
 who perhaps constituted the majority of the
 Senate, could not brook their defeat by the
 popular party. We hear no more of the Henoticon,
 the original cause of the quarrel: everything
 seems merged in the passionate determination
 of the Senators, by fair means or foul, to
 depose Symmachus from the Papacy. It seems
 probable that the means used were foul rather
 than fair, when, in addition to the ordinary charge
 of alienation of church-property (doubtless in order
 to meet the expenses of the election) and a singular
 one of celebrating Easter apart from the multitude
 of believers, an accusation of gross immorality was
 also brought against Symmachus by Festus and his
 fellow-worker Probinus¹. The vagueness of these
 charges, the illegal means by which it was sought
 to support them, and the earnest denial of their
 truth by Ennodius² (an honest man, though an
 intolerably tedious writer), all seem to justify
 the belief that this was one of those cruel attacks
 on private character which are made, only because
 the high position of the victim causes accusation
 and condemnation to be one, in the charitable
 judgment of the crowd³.

The senators accuse Symmachus of immorality.

¹ Probably the same as the Probinus, Vir Illustris and Patricius, who is rebuked in Cass. Var. ii. 11 for overreaching conduct towards Basilus and Agapita.

² In his Liber Apologeticus pro Synodo.

³ The only passage which makes me doubt Ennodius' con-

Again disturbances broke out, again there was bloodshed in the streets and squares of Rome. We are not able to fix the precise date of this recrudescence of the strife, but it seems probable that it was in the later months of 500, just after the sojourn of the King in Rome, during which undoubtedly both parties kept truce in the presence of that stalwart maintainer of *civilitas* ¹.

The King, who during that visit had probably been in frequent intercourse with the leaders of the Senatorial party, may have imbibed some of their prejudices against Symmachus, who was formally accused before him of immorality. At any rate he summoned him to Rimini, and the Pope, who seems to have understood that only the trifling question about his manner of keeping Easter would be examined into by Theodoric, obeyed the summons. One evening, however, as he wandered by the sea-shore, he saw some travellers ride by along the Flaminian Way. Among them were the Roman women whom he was accused of having seduced. The truth flashed upon his mind. They were going to the King's Comitatus, and he was to stand his trial before it for

viction of the absolute innocence of Symmachus is this sentence in the imaginary address of St. Peter to his accusers: 'Nolite Symmachum papam pressuris vestris juvare (?): si reus est, mihi credite, cum cessaverit humane impugnationis ministerium divinum mox succedit arbitrium' (Libellus Apol. pro Synodo, 201: Migne).

¹ Anon. Valesii says that Theodoric's visit to Rome was 'post factam pacem in urbem [sic] ecclesiae.'

BOOK IV. adultery. Terrified at the prospect¹, he stole
 CH. 11. away secretly in the dead of night, with one
 500. attendant, to Rome, to his old refuge at the Basilica of St. Peter.

Peter of
 Altino
 appointed
 'Visitor'
 by Theodoric.

Offended by the Pope's flight, and rendered yet more suspicious of his guilt, Theodoric now took the bold step of appointing a 'Visitor' to summon a council, to hear thereat the charges against Symmachus, and meanwhile to undertake the government of the Church in his stead. This was undoubtedly a high-handed proceeding; one which, in the distracted state of the Church, success, and the maintenance of strict impartiality by the King's delegate, might have excused, but which otherwise it would be difficult to justify. The Visitor, Bishop Peter of Altino, preserved no semblance of judicial impartiality, and consequently his mission was doomed to failure. Instead of visiting the Pope at the shrine of St. Peter's², he at once threw himself into the arms of the Senatorial party, turned several of the clerical adherents of Symmachus out of their churches and intruded Laurentians in their room.

Peter's
 hostility
 to the Pope
 causes a
 reaction in
 his favour.

This strong partisanship, exhibited by the nominee of an Arian king at the bidding of the laymen of the Senate, touched the hierarchical

¹ And perhaps, as Dahn suggests, determined not to concede the king's right to try him on such a charge.

² Ennodius argues at some length that, had Peter of Altino proceeded, as a good Catholic should have done, first to the tomb of the Apostle, the grace vouchsafed to him there would have saved him from his subsequent errors.

spirit of the bishops who were summoned to the Council, and caused a certain reaction in favour of Symmachus, who hitherto had perhaps had only the lower clergy and the populace of Rome in his favour. Some of the bishops on their way to Rome had an interview with Theodoric, in which they frankly told him—so say the Acts of a later Council, which undoubtedly represent the high ecclesiastical view of the question—‘that he, the accused Pope, and not the King, was the person who ought of right to convene the Council, since by God’s command this was the peculiar privilege of the Pope, derived from the dignity of Peter’s primacy, that he could not be judged by those of lower degree.’

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.
501.

This was in fact the position taken up by Symmachus, when at length, soon after Easter in 501, the Council which was to try his case assembled in the Julian Basilica. Yet, he intimated, he might be willing to waive his right, and appear before the Council to answer the charges against him, but only on condition that Peter the Visitor should be disavowed, and the churches which he had taken from the adherents of Symmachus should be restored to them. The Council, which was composed chiefly of elderly men, did not dare thus to reverse the acts of Theodoric. Nor did they, on the other hand, though partially reassured by a letter which the King had shown the bishops at Ravenna, proving that Symmachus himself had expressed a desire for the assembling of the

501.
Symmachus denies the Council's right to judge him.

The Council dare not offend either Pope or King.

BOOK IV. Council, dare to sit in judgment on the successor of St. Peter without his consent. After

CH. 11.

501.

fumbling at the question for some time with feeble trembling hands, they gave it up, and requested the king to convoke a council at Ravenna. The Council then broke up, and several of its members left Rome.

Theodoric insists on their deciding the question.

This futile result disgusted the King, who was not perhaps greatly interested in the question whether Symmachus or Laurentius should win, but earnestly desirous that the strife should be ended somehow, and peace restored to Rome. He wrote to the bishops who remained at Rome, praising their patience, but complaining with some acerbity of their faint-hearted colleagues. He entirely refused to have the matter referred to him at Ravenna. 'Had it been his wish to interfere in the dispute,' he said, 'he doubted not that he and the great officers of his household would have been able to find a solution of the difficulty, which would have been approved by posterity. But as it concerns God and the clergy he had decided to summon the bishops; and they must settle it¹. Three letters² were written by Theodoric in this strain,

¹ 'Si mihi visum fuisset, aut justitia habuisset, ut ego debuissem audire cum Proceribus Palatii mei, potueram tractare quomodo et Deo placuisset et posteritati ingratum non fuisset.' But because it is 'causa Dei et clericorum,' he has on the petition of senate and clergy convoked the bishops to settle it.

² These letters are given by Baronius (Ann. Eccl. ix. 13), and said by him to have been sent him by 'noster Nicolaus Faber' of Paris. They are said to have suffered from time

urging the bishops to do their duty and not to leave undecided a controversy which was daily imperiling the peace of 'the Royal City.' 'If you like to decide it without enquiry, on account of the rank of the accused person, do so ; though I must remind you of that saying of Aspar's' (and here Theodoric indulged in a remembrance of his Byzantine days) 'when he was recommended by the Senate to make himself Emperor: "I fear," said he, "lest by me this thing should be drawn into a custom in the Empire¹." Even so I fear lest if you leave this matter unenquired into, immorality should become common among priests. Still, on you be the responsibility ; only decide the case.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.
501.

At the same time, Theodoric sent three stout Goths, Arigern the count and the chamberlains Gudila and Bedewulf, to Symmachus, to protect him on his passage through the city, and probably also to remind the Sardinian priest that the King of the Goths and Romans was not accus-

Safeguard
sent to
Symmachus.

and the errors of copyists, but are undoubtedly of great interest. One would like to know something more of their history than the meagre statement of Baronius. The fact that they are not included in the *Variae* makes it probable that as yet Cassiodorus had not entered on the office of Quæstor.

The first letter (addressed to the bishops who had remained at Rome, and with whom the king was best satisfied) has the concluding words 'Orate pro nobis, domini ac venerabiles Patres' added in another hand. Notwithstanding the depreciatory remarks of Anon. Valesii as to Theodoric's penmanship, one cannot repress the conjecture that this subscription was in the original added by the king's own hand.

¹ Does he mean the custom of making a man of barbarian descent emperor, or one of Arian faith ?

BOOK IV. tomed to have his orders disobeyed by any subject,
 CH. 11. however exalted. The persuasion, of whatever

Tumult in
 the streets
 of Rome,
 1 Sept. 501.

kind it may have been, was effectual; the protection, as it turned out, was really needed. The Pope set forth on the morning of the 1st of September to meet the Council of his judges assembled in the church of Santa Croce, hard by that Sessorian palace in which, a year before, the head of Odoin the traitor had rolled on the marble pavement. To reach the place of judgment Symmachus must needs traverse the whole breadth of Rome, from the north-western Janiculan hill to the south-eastern Coelian. The sight of the Pope going forth on this humiliating errand touched the hearts of his plebeian supporters. A multitude gathered in his train, who followed him weeping and lamenting¹. These evidences of the popularity of their hated antagonist kindled the rage of the Senators of the opposite party. To them the question between Laurentius and Symmachus was probably no more than as one of those disputes in the circus between the Blues and Greens, in which the victory of a charioteer favoured by the mob goaded the dainty Senator to madness². Whatever the cause, the party of Laurentius, including some priests as well as Senators, fell upon the mournful procession of Symmachus, dealing such

¹ 'Multitudo illa juncta sacerdotis officiis attulit ad nos lamenta non jacula: nec venit telis minax sed fletibus miserabilis' (Ennodius, *Libellus Apologeticus*, p. 194: Migne).

² See Cass. Var. i. 20.

cruel blows that many fell wounded to the earth, and only the energy of the three Gothic henchmen succeeded in winning for their *protégé* a way back through the crowd to his asylum at St. Peter's shrine.

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.
501.

This street-brawl secured the victory to Symmachus. With good reason could he now entrench himself behind his sacred prerogative, and say, 'I am in God's hands and the King's. Let them do with me what they will. I appear not before the Council.' The sympathies of Theodoric, which had been for a time turned against Symmachus, by what looked like an evasion from justice, were now heartily restored to him by this gross breach of *civilitas* on the part of his accusers; an outrage which was made personally insulting to himself by the fact that it was committed on a man who was under the *tuitio regii nominis* and escorted by three Gothic officers. Henceforward nothing more was heard from the King about compelling the Pope to answer his accusers. He only pressed upon the Council (which now willingly pronounced a verdict clearing the Pope of the charges brought against him) that they should not merely decide this theoretical question, but practically end the dispute by assigning the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings in Rome to the persons who were canonically entitled to them, and compel the obedience of all the clergy to Symmachus, now the undoubtedly lawful Pope. All this difficult but necessary work the feeble old bishops would gladly

Symmachus shuts himself up at St. Peter's.

BOOK IV. have thrust off upon him, but he answered with
CH. 11. truth and spirit, 'That is your affair, not mine.

501. Had it been my business, I and my good chiefs¹ would have settled it long ago.'

*Synodus
 Palmaris,
 23 Oct. 501
 finally ac-
 quits Pope
 Symmachus of the
 charges
 brought
 against
 him.*

The final decision of the whole controversy was attained in the Council called the *Synodus Palmaris*, which was held 'in the Portico of St. Peter's, which is called Palmaria².' This Council, which was called by its enemies, 'The Synod of the Incongruous Absolution,' was fiercely attacked by them on divers grounds, both of substance and of form³. It was defended by Ennodius in a long apology, in which, through a thick veil of almost unmeaning rhetoric, and amidst a profusion of Scripture texts pelted forth at random upon his antagonists, it is just possible to discern some of the main outlines of the controversy. According to the taste of the age the Apology closes with three long imaginary addresses from St. Peter, St. Paul, and the city of Rome. In these addresses the good bishop reaches a higher level than in the rest of his composition, and the rhetorician once or twice speaks like an orator. His warm praises of

*The Apo-
 logy of
 Ennodius.*

¹ Proceres.

² So says Anastasius, the papal biographer. We must not, therefore, as we might otherwise be inclined to do, connect it with the 'Ad Palmam' (within the city), where Theodoric harangued the people (Anon. Valesii, 66).

³ One of the most important of these was, that if Symmachus were innocent he should have tendered his slaves to be examined, if necessary by torture, as to what had gone on in his house. The Pope's partisans, on the other hand, took refuge in the well-known principle of Roman law that no slave's

Theodoric's rule¹ impress us more in this tractate BOOK IV.
CH. 11.
than in the panegyric which was composed to be recited before him. We understand also more fully the feeling of depression with which a Christian Roman of that day looked back upon the past history of his country, when we hear Rome lamenting that all her greatest sons, the Curii, the Torquati, and the Camilli had been borne by her only to languish for ever in Tartarus because the Church had not regenerated them, that the Fabii and Decii who had saved others could not be saved themselves; that Scipio, who was ever a fervent lover of the right, was joined with the greatest criminals in the world to come because he was ignorant of Christ².

It took some time for the troubled waters to subside. We hear that Laurentius, who had come back to Rome, continued the strife for four years; but Symmachus was now strong in the approbation of councils, and the support of Theodoric, and, as far as we can see, his opponents, playing faint-heartedly a losing game, did not again venture on any actual breach of the public peace.

*Victory of
Symma-
chus,
502-506.*

The whole controversy has, it will at once be evidence was to be taken against his master, except in cases of 'majestas.'

¹ For instance, 'Sed Dei beneficia non tacebo: quia princeps noster rebus superat decora sermonum' (p. 199, Migne).

² 'Quae Curios, Torquatos, Camillos, quos Ecclesia non regeneravit, et reliquos nisi plurimae prolis infecunda mater ad Tartarum:—quia Fabios servata patria non redemit, Deciis multo sudore gloria parta nil praestitit: profligata est operum sine fide innocentia: criminosis junctus est aequi observantissimus, quia Christum ignoravit, Scipio' (p. 206).

BOOK IV. seen, an important bearing on events of a much
 CH. 11. later date. Some of the questions mooted are
 the same as those which came up for solution at
 a Council of Constance. In so thorny a contro-
 versy it is hardly possible to frame any proposition
 which may not be attacked from one side or the
 other ; but perhaps we shall be safe in asserting
 these :—

I. The right of the King, as head of the State, to convene a Council by his own authority was asserted on the one side and denied on the other.

II. But the *tacit* assent of the Pope cured the informality of the Council, even in the eyes of ecclesiastics.

III. It was *not* formally denied that the Pope, like other subjects of the King, was subject to *his* jurisdiction for such an offence as adultery. But—

IV. It *was* strenuously denied that a Council (consisting as it did of his ecclesiastical inferiors) could sit in judgment on a Pope. And in the end this contention practically prevailed.

Should the
 Pope be
 tried be-
 fore King
 or council?

We can see at once the great difference between the third and fourth points. To subject a pope to the jurisdiction of the bishops in his obedience was like bringing a captain to trial before the soldiers of his company—a proceeding necessarily subversive of all discipline. But that was not saying that the Pope, who was still no temporal sovereign but a subject,—either of the Emperor or the King—need give no account to the Head

of the State, for acts which he had committed in BOOK IV.
 defiance of its laws. The successor of St. Peter CH. 11.
 was responsible for the exercise of his spiritual
 authority to no man. But if Symmachus com-
 mitted adultery or murder, he must answer for
 the deed to our lord Theodoric in his palace at
 Ravenna.

The history of the strife exhibits in a favourable Theodoric comes out well from the dispute.
 light the sound sense and statesmanship of the
 Ostrogothic King. He has no desire to meddle
 in matters ecclesiastical. His one anxiety is to
 see that *civilitas* be maintained and its assail-
 ants punished. 'A free Church in a free—or at
 all events in a well-ordered—State' is practically
 his maxim. He makes one or two mistakes, but
 shows his statesmanship in this more than any-
 thing, that he knows how to retrieve his mistakes,
 and is not, by a foolish craving after consistency
 or blind self-love, enticed into the common blunder
 of letting the first error drag him on into a
 series of other errors each greater than its pre-
 decessor.

The only other act of the Pontificate of Sym- Fifth Council, 6 Nov., 502.
 machus which need be noticed here is his share
 in the proceedings of another council, the fifth,
 which was held at St. Peter's on the 6th of
 November, 502. Addressing the assembled fathers
 of the Church, he recommended that the authors
 of the recent schism, who had been led away by
 love of dominion and had cast off the yoke of the
 Church, should be left to the mercy of God if they

BOOK IV. were not too hardened to accept of it. After pro-
 CH. 11. claiming this somewhat dubious amnesty, he
 502. brought before the notice of the Council the en-
 Odovacar's decrees re-
 pudiated. croachment on the rights of the Church of which
 Odovacar had been guilty twenty years before.
 In order to bring the matter more vividly before
 them, the deacon Hormisdas a man who was
 himself one day to be Pope, read the decree once
 issued by the illustrious Basilus in the name of
 the most excellent King Odovacar. The par-
 ticulars of that certainly somewhat daring piece
 of legislation have been already detailed¹. The
 holy fathers gasped with indignation when they
 heard once more the language of a layman, though
 a king, arrogating to himself the absolute nomi-
 nation of a successor to the Papal throne, and,
 what was even more audacious, inflicting the
 penalty of anathema on the alienators of eccle-
 siastical property. Speaker after speaker inter-
 rupted the reader, pointing out successive viola-
 tions of the canons by this decree: and when
 each one had finished, again the calm voice of
 the deacon Hormisdas was heard, perhaps in-
 dicating by sarcastic emphasis his own dislike of
 the document of which he was the unwilling
 expositor. After heartily condemning the decree
 and declaring that, as wanting the Papal sanction,
 it was utterly invalid, the Council proceeded to
 re-enact, in a regular manner, the really valuable
 portion of it,—that which forbade the alienation

¹ P. 157.

of the property of the Church ; making, however, an exception on behalf of houses in Rome, which the clergy, if they found themselves unable to bear the expense of keeping them up, were at liberty to sell, accounting scrupulously for the proceeds of the sale.

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.

502.

After sixteen years, the eventful pontificate of Symmachus came to an end. When he died, Cassiodorus was in Rome, delighting in the shadowy glories of his year of office as Consul. He was admirably adapted for the task which naturally devolved upon him, of allaying the bitter spirit of contending factions, of soothing the wounded self-love of the Senate which had probably never been heartily reconciled to the victory of Symmachus, and inducing it to co-operate peaceably with the popular leaders among the clergy in the election of a new pope.

Death of
Symmachus,
18 July,
514.

The scandals of a contested election were avoided, and, after an unusually short vacancy of seven days, the Papal seat was again filled ; the new occupant being Hormisdas the Campanian, the reader of the obnoxious decree of Odovacar : a man who, as the event showed, was to be not only himself a pope, but also the father of a pope.

Election of
Hormisdas,
26 July,
514.

The chief events of the pontificate of Hormisdas have already been told in the chapter describing Theodoric's relations with Constantinople. He was well fitted to conduct such a struggle as that in which he was engaged with Anastasius, and to reap, with cold complacency, the utter-

Pontificate
of Hormisdas,
26 July,
514, to 5
Aug. 523.

BOOK IV. most fruits of the victory which was offered him
CH. 11. by Justin.

Election
 of Pope
 John I,
 13 Aug.
 523.

There was again a short vacancy and an undisputed succession. On the 13th of August, 523, John, a Tuscan, first of the long line of Popes who have borne the name, if they have not all imitated the saintliness, of the beloved Disciple, sat in the chair of St. Peter.

Difficulties
 of the
 Pope's
 position
 towards
 the King.

The new Pope came to his dignity at a difficult and anxious time. Four years had now elapsed since the close of the schism, and during those years, while Justin's relations with the Roman Church had been excellent, his relations with the Italian King appear to have been growing steadily worse. How the chasm began to yawn between Romans and Goths, and how Theodoric, challenged to decide, declared himself on the side of his own nation, will be told in the next chapter. It is sufficient here to note that the year of John's accession to the Papacy is also the year when, by Theodoric's orders, Boethius was shut up in prison.

523.

524.
 Justin's
 persecu-
 tion of the
 Arians.

The next year, honoured by the Emperor Justin's assuming for the second time the consular title, was marked by a decided step taken by that Emperor in the direction of intolerance. Hitherto Justin, while persecuting severely the Manicheans and all heretics of that class, had left the Arians untouched, and seems even to have alleged, as a reason for his tolerance, that they professed the same religion as Theodoric. Now, however, this

exception in their favour was suddenly and harshly terminated¹. Everywhere the churches of the Arians were reconsecrated with Catholic rites, and they themselves were made to understand that the time had gone by when they could be allowed to continue to disbelieve in the Homousion.

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.

524.

Theodoric, irritated by the insult to himself, and disgusted by such an ungrateful return for *his* impartial tolerance, now began to lose his temper, and under the influence of ill-temper not only departed from the principles of a life-time, but committed one of the greatest mistakes in policy which it was possible to perpetrate. He, whose one great glory it had been to make no distinction between creed and creed, began to entertain the idea of a persecution of the Catholics in Italy, by way of reprisal for the persecution of Arians in Thrace. And, in order to change the purpose of the Emperor, he committed the astounding folly of sending the Pope to Constantinople. No two pieces on the political chess-board ought, for the safety of his kingdom, to have been kept further apart from one another than the Pope and the Emperor: and now, by his own act, he brings these pieces close together. Summoning Pope John to Ravenna, he signified his pleasure that the head of the Catholic Church should visit Constantinople as his ambassador, and should inform Justin that, unless he restored their churches to the Arians, the sword

Theodoric
begins a
policy of
reprisal.He deter-
mines to
send the
Pope on a
mission to
Constanti-
nople.

¹ Anastasius Bibliothecarius is here our chief authority.

BOOK IV. of Theodoric would ravage the whole of Italy.

CH. 11.

525.

The Pope, sick and infirm, besought with tears to be excused from so degrading and unsuitable a mission, but the King, in whom the blood of all his Amal ancestors was now boiling, would take no denial, and the unhappy priest, cowed into submission, consented to set forth¹. The mission was in outward show a brilliant one. Three exconsuls, Theodorus², Importunus³, and Agapetus⁴, and one patrician, a second Agapetus, went in the train of the Pontiff. Miracles marked their course. At Corinth, a nobleman's horse which had been lent

¹ Here is the account of the matter given by the Anonymus Valesii:—

‘The King returning [from the death of Boethius] in a fury, and unmindful of the blessings of God, thought that he could intimidate Justin by an embassy, and summoning to Ravenna John, the chief of the Apostolic See, he said to him, “Walk [ambula] to Justin the Emperor, and tell him among other things to restore the reconciled heretics to the Catholic [Arian] faith.” To whom Pope John made answer, “What thou art about to do, oh King, do quickly. Lo, I stand here in thy sight. I will not promise to do this thing for thee, nor to say this to the Emperor. In any other matters which thou mayest lay upon me, God helping me, I may be able to succeed.” Then the King being angry ordered a ship to be prepared, and placed him on board with other bishops, to wit Ecclesius of Ravenna, Eusebius of Fano, Sabinus of Campania, and two others, together with the following Senators, Theodorus, Importunus, Agapitus, and another Agapitus. But God, who does not desert his faithful worshippers, brought them prosperously to their journey’s end. Then the Emperor Justin met him on his arrival as if he were St. Peter himself, and having heard his message promised that he would comply with all his demands, except that the converts who had given themselves to the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians.’

² Consul in 505. ³ Consul in 509. ⁴ Consul in 517.

for the Pope's use, absolutely refused thenceforward to be ridden by a woman, the owner's wife, whose tractable steed it had been till that day. The nobleman, making a merit of necessity, sent the creature, possessed of such nice spiritual discernment, to the Pope, and besought him, with many prayers, to regard it as his own¹. At the entrance into Constantinople, a blind man imploring his aid, and touched by the Pontiff's hand, received his sight.

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.

525.

Everywhere there were joyous excitement and expectation at the arrival of the successor of St. Peter in the New Rome; an event, men said, which had never happened since Silvester came to visit its founder Constantine. Justin, with all his Court, and, so it seemed, the whole city of Constantinople, streamed forth with crosses and candles to meet the ambassadors at the twelfth milestone. Prone on the ground the Emperor, whom all other men adored, adored the weary Pontiff. Sick and anxious as he was, it was impossible for John not to feel that it was a great day for the Papacy. When Easter-day came the Pope, taking the place of honour at the right hand of the Patriarch of Constantinople, celebrated Mass according to the Latin use in the great Cathedral². Nay, so far, according to one rather doubtful story³, did Justin carry his devotion to his distinguished guest, that, though now in the eighth year of his reign, and once crowned already by the Patriarch of Constan-

Excite-
ment at
Constanti-
nople over
the Pope's
visit.

¹ Dialogues of Pope Gregory, lib. 3. cap. 2.

² Marcellinus Comes, s. a.

³ In Anastasius.

BOOK IV. tinople, he solicited and obtained the honour of a
 CH. 11. second coronation from his papal visitor.

As to the success of John's intercession with Justin it is not easy to speak positively¹. The authorities who are most nearly contemporary assert very clearly that the prayers and tears of the Pope and his colleagues prevailed, and that the Emperor granted all their requests except that for the reconversion to Arianism of the new-made Catholics, which was deemed a thing impossible. Thus, they say, was Italy liberated from the fear of the vengeance of Theodoric. Modern papal historians like Baronius, eager to vindicate the Pope from the stain of advocating religious toleration, vehemently contend against this statement, and ask with some force, 'Why then the rage of Theodoric on the Pope's return, if he had done, with one inconsiderable exception, all that he was ordered to do?' Perhaps we may fairly conclude that the Pope deserved the anger of both parties; of the Catholics for asking for and obtaining things which were in his view unlawful, and of the King for throwing out hints and commencing negotiations inconsistent with his loyalty as a subject. The maxim—

'To thine own self be true,
 And it must follow, as the night the day,
 Thou canst not then be false to any man,'

¹ The letter attributed to Pope John in his prison, and quoted by Baronius (ix. 349), which might, if genuine, have thrown some light on these transactions, is now considered to be a forgery.

was one the spirit of which had been disregarded by Pope John, and he paid the penalty.

BOOK IV.
CH. 11.

On his return to Ravenna, early in 526, the Pope found the King in no friendly mood, broken probably in health and sore against all the supposed abettors of Boethius and Symmachus in their treasonable practices with Constantinople. John himself and his three ex-consular colleagues were thrown into prison¹, and there lingered several months. The hardships of the prison life were too much for the already enfeebled health of the Pontiff, and he died in confinement on the 25th of May, 526², ninety-seven days before the death of the King himself.

Return of
the Pope to
Ravenna,
526.

Death of
Pope
John I,
25 May,
526.

Thus did Theodoric, whose whole reign had been pervaded by the attempt to harmonise Goth and Roman, and to rule without partiality over Catholic and Arian, cruelly wound the feelings of his Roman subjects by degrading the person of the Pope, and end his career by making the one man to whom the eyes of all Catholics turned with reverence—a martyr. Toleration is a noble principle, but it cannot be taken up and laid down at pleasure. He who would earn the glory of a tolerant king must be tolerant even in the presence of intolerance: tolerant even to the end. If we may take a simile from horsemanship, it is of no use for

Grievous
mistake of
Theodoric.

¹ The Patrician Agapetus had died on the journey out, at Thessalonica.

² Clinton's date. Anastasius, probably corrupt, gives 18th May.

BOOK IV. the rider to keep his temper with a timid, shying
CH. 11. horse through ten vagaries, if at the eleventh he
loses patience and brings the whip down in heavy
wrath. All his previous self-restraint goes for
nothing, and his ill-temper spoils the temper of his
steed.

CHAPTER XII.

BOETHIUS AND SYMMACHUS.

Authorities.

Sources:—

The ANONYMUS VALESI and the *Philosophiae Consolatio* BOOK IV.
of BOETHIUS, described in the text. A handy and scholarly CH. 12.
edition of the latter by R. Peiper has appeared in Teubner's
Series of Greek and Roman Authors (Leipzig, 1871).

Also the *Anecdota Holderi*, consisting of a few paragraphs appended to a tenth-century MS. of the *Institutiones Humanarum Rerum* of CASSIODORUS, and apparently copied from a short paper written by Cassiodorus himself. The MS. is now in the Grand-ducal Library at Carlsruhe, and has been ably commented upon by Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1877).

THE greatest mistake, if not the greatest crime, which sullied the fame of Theodoric, was the order given by him for the execution of Boethius and Symmachus. Coming as these executions did so near in time to the imprisonment and death in prison of Pope John, they easily acquired an ecclesiastical colour which did not of right belong to them: and thus these two noble, if somewhat mistaken men, who really perished as martyrs to the great name of Rome and the memory of the world-conquering Republic, have been surrounded by a halo of fictitious sanctity as martyrs to the cause of Christian orthodoxy.

Boethius
and Sym-
machus not
religious
martyrs.

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

To clear the ground, it will be well first of all to suffer our previous guide, the *Anonymus Valesii*, to tell us the tragic story, as it was recounted in ecclesiastical circles at Ravenna about a generation after the event.

After describing Theodoric's residence at Verona, the resort thither of the Jews of Ravenna with their complaint about their ruined synagogue and the stern order for restitution made by the King¹, the *Anonymus* thus continues:—

*version
he

‘From this event the devil found occasion to subvert the man [Theodoric] who had been [up to this time] governing the republic well and without cause for complaint. For he presently ordered that the oratory and altar of St. Stephen, at the fountains in the suburb of Verona, should be overthrown. Then he commanded that no Roman should bear any arms, not even allowing them to carry a knife.

Omens.

‘Also a poor woman, of the Gothic nation, lying under a porch not far from the palace of Ravenna, gave birth to four dragons: two were seen by the people to be carried along in the clouds from the west to the east, and then to be cast into the sea: two were captured², having one head between them. There appeared a star with a torch, which is called a comet, shining for fifteen days, and there were frequent earthquakes.

‘After these things the king began, upon the least occasion that he could find, to flame out in

¹ See p. 298.

² ‘*Duo portati sunt.*’

wrath against the Romans. Cyprian, who was BOOK IV.
CH. 12. then Reporter to the High Court of Justice¹, afterwards Count of the Sacred Largesses and 523.
Cyprian's
accusation
of Albinus. Master [of the Offices], urged by cupidity, laid an information against Albinus the Patrician, that he had sent letters to the Emperor Justin hostile to the rule of Theodoric. This accusation he, upon being summoned, denied, and thereupon Boetius the Patrician, who was Master of the Offices, said in the King's presence: "False is the information of Cyprian, but if Albinus did it, both I and the whole Senate did it with one accord. It is false, my lord oh King!" Then Reply of
Boethius. Cyprian, with hesitation, brought forward false witnesses not only against Albinus, but also against his champion Boetius. But the King laid snares for the Romans, and sought how he might slay them: he put more confidence in the false witnesses than in the Senators. Then were Albinus and Boetius taken in custody at the baptistery of the church [at Ticinum?]. But the King called for Eusebius, Prefect of the city of Ticinum, and passed sentence against Boetius un- 524. heard: and soon after sent and ordered him to be killed on the Calventian property². A cord Boethius
put to
death by
torture. was twisted for a very long time round his forehead, so that his eyes started from his head: and

¹ Referendarius.

² Calvenzano, in the territory of Milan, a little distance from Melegnano (Marignan) according to Muratori (Annali, iii. 340).

BOOK IV. then at last in the midst of his torments he was
 CH. 12.
 slain with a club¹.

The King's return in high wrath to Ravenna, and his ill-conceived scheme of sending the Pope to Constantinople to plead for toleration to the Arians, are next described².

Death of
 Symma-
 chus,
 525;

The Anonymus then continues: 'But while these things are going on, Symmachus the Head of the Senate, whose daughter Boethius had to wife, is led from Rome to Ravenna. But the King, fearing lest through grief for the loss of his son-in-law he should attempt anything against his kingdom, caused him to be accused and ordered him to be slain. Then Pope John returning from Justin was badly received by Theodoric and ordered to consider himself in disgrace. After a few days he died, and as the people were going in procession before his corpse, suddenly one of the crowd fell down, stricken by a demon, and when they had come with the bier to the place where he was, suddenly he stood up whole, and walked before them in the procession. Which when the people and senators saw, they began to cut off relics from the garment [of the Pope]. Thus, amid the extreme joy of the people, was his corpse led out beyond the gates of the city.

and of
 Pope John,
 526.

'Then [another] Symmachus, a Jew, and an

¹ 'Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi ejus creparent (!), sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur.'

² See p. 512.

official in the royal *scholae*¹, at the bidding, not of the king, but of the tyrant, issued orders on the fourth day of the week, the seventh before the kalends of September [26 August], on the fourth indiction, in the consulship of Olybrius, that on the following Lord's Day the Arians should take possession of the Catholic basilicas. But He who suffers not his faithful worshippers to be oppressed by the aliens, soon inflicted on him the same sentence as on Arius the author of his religion. The king was attacked with diarrhoea, and after three days of incessant purgings, on the same day on which he promised himself to invade the churches, he himself lost both kingdom and life. Before he drew his last breath he appointed his grandson Athalaric to the kingdom. During his lifetime he made for himself a monument of squared stone, a work of wonderful bigness, and sought for a gigantic stone, which he placed as the crowning of the edifice.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

526.

The Catholic churches to be given to the Arians.

526.

The King's illness,

and death.

His tomb,

(Here the Anonymus Valesii abruptly ends.)

The information here given us may be illustrated, if not greatly increased, by the hints as to the life and character of Boethius, which we obtain from his own writings and those of his contemporaries².

¹ 'Symmachus scolasticus Judaeus.'

² The following is the paragraph of the 'Anecdoton Holderi' which relates to Boethius:—

'Boethius dignitatibus summis excelluit. Utraque lingua peritissimus orator fuit: qui regem Theodoricum in senatu pro consulatu filiorum luculenta oratione laudavit. Scripsit librum de sancta trinitate et capita quaedam dogmatica et

BOOK IV. *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius*¹ was born
 CH. 12. at Rome probably in, or very soon after, the year
 Birth and 480². His family was one of the most illustrious
 family of in Rome. He belonged to the *gens Anicia*, which,
 Boethius. originally sprung from Praeneste, first emerges to
 notice in Roman history in the third century B.C.,
 played a respectable, though not important, part
 in the times of the Republic, and, simply by living
 on through the wars, proscriptions, and massacres of
 The Ani- the Empire, became a large and mighty kinship in
 cian Gens. the fourth century after Christ, when so many of
 the great names of the Republic had gone out
 for ever. To this clan belonged Probus, Olybrius,
 Symmachus, whose names have come under our
 notice in connection with the history of the later
 empire. Possibly also both Faustus and Festus,
 the two rival ministers of Theodoric, styled them-
 selves Anicii³.

Thus his name Anicius indicated a real and genuine connection with one of the noblest fami-

librum contra Nestorium. Condidit et carmen bucolicum. Sed in opere artis logicae, id est dialecticae, transferendo ac mathematicis disciplinis, talis fuit ut antiquos auctores aut aequipararet aut vinceret.

¹ For the form *Boetius* (which I used on the previous mention of the name, vol. ii. p. 219) there is considerable MS. authority, but Usener has shown that the preponderating authority of MSS. is in favour of *Boethius*. The common people at Rome had a difficulty in pronouncing *th*: hence the corruption.

² See Usener, p. 40.

³ There is an Anicius Faustus, of the fifth century, in the catalogue in Pauly's *Real. Encyclopaedia*, 1010. The Anicius Festus is of no later date than A. D. 217.

lies of the Lower Empire. Manlius was meant to carry back his lineage to the Manlii Torquati of the Republic; but here the connection was probably of that vague and shadowy kind which is met with in manufactured genealogies. Severinus was no doubt given to him in honour of one of the holiest names of the fifth century, the saintly hermit of Noricum.

A Boethius, probably the grandfather of Severinus Boethius, was, as we have already seen, murdered side by side with his friend Aetius, on that disastrous day when 'the last of Romans' fell, by the orders of the last Theodosian princeling Valentinian III. In the next generation Aurelius Manlius Boethius, after being twice Praefectus Urbi, and once Prætorian Prefect, attained the dignity of Consul in 487, during the domination of Odovacar¹. As this nobleman died in early middle life, his son, the one who was to immortalise the name, was left an orphan while still a boy. Powerful relations, however, undertook his guardianship, the most noteworthy of them being Symmachus, who, when Boethius reached manhood, gave him Rusticana his daughter to wife.

The names of Symmachus and Boethius are so inextricably intertwined by the fate which made their deaths part of the same dark tragedy, that it will be well to interrupt here the story of

¹ See Usener's *Anecdota Holderi*, p. 44, and the inscription there quoted from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, v. 8120.

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

His grand-
father (!).

452.

His father.

His guar-
dian.

BOOK IV. Boethius in order to give the main facts of the
 CH. 12. life of his father-in-law.

Symma-
 chus,

and his
 ancestors.

Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, was sprung, like his younger contemporary, from the great Anician house. The most conspicuous of his ancestors was Symmachus the orator, consul under the great Theodosius in 391, leader of the senatorial party at that day, and one of the last great names of Rome's slowly dying Paganism. The story might well have been told in the earlier volumes of this history, of his eloquent remonstrance with the young and uncompromising Gratian, against the removal of the altar of Victory from the Senate-house, and of his earnest entreaties to Theodosius and his colleagues to undo the impious work and restore the altar to its place.

A hundred years had wrought great changes in the attitude of the Roman nobles towards the unseen world. The Symmachus with whom we have now to deal—a man in many respects resembling his great ancestor, like him head of the Senate and enthusiastic for its glory—has become an earnest member of the Christian Church, and shows his fidelity to Rome by upholding the standard of Catholic orthodoxy against the Arian Theodoric.

His gener-
 ally friend-
 ly attitude
 towards
 Theodoric.

Not, however, that we have any reason to suppose that, during the greater part of his life, Symmachus occupied an unfriendly position to the Ostrogothic government. He supported his name-

sake, Pope Symmachus¹, in his controversy with BOOK IV.
 Laurentius, and, during the greater part of that CH. 12.
 struggle, was no doubt fighting on the same side as
 the King. He had held the dignity of Consul in His offices,
 485 under Odovacar. He became *Praefectus Urbi*²
 under Theodoric, thus attaining the rank of an
 Illustris; and he also received the proud title of
 Patricius. By right of seniority he had risen by
 the year 524 to the venerable position of Head
 of the Senate³, corresponding pretty closely with
 the high, but unofficial pre-eminence enjoyed in
 England by 'the Father of the House of Commons.' and cha-
 racter.
 A man of correct and stately eloquence, of irre-
 proachable character; the Cato of his age, but
 with the old Stoic virtues softened and refined by
 his Christian faith; a diligent student, and the
 author of a Roman history in seven books, a man
 also full of fine local patriotism for the great city
 which was his home, and willing to spend some
 of his vast wealth freely in the repair of her
 public buildings—such is the Symmachus of the
 age of Theodoric as he is represented to us by
 his admiring contemporaries⁴.

¹ I think there is no reason to suppose any family tie between the Consul and the Pope (who was a Sardinian by birth). For some reason or other, Symmachus seems to have been a favourite name at this time.

² This may be considered as proved by the letter addressed to him by the King (Cass. Var. ii. 14). Perhaps also Variarum iv. 6 was sent to him in the same capacity.

³ *Caput Senati* (sic) is the form used by Ammianus and Anonymus Valesii.

⁴ The chief authorities for the life of Symmachus are, (1) two affectionate allusions to him in the *Philosophiae Consolatio* of

BOOK IV. The friendship of the elder and younger noble-
 CH. 12. man, crowned at length by the union which made
 Boethius the son-in-law of Symmachus, is a pleas-
 ing picture in an age in which we meet with
 little else than the rottenness of civilisation and
 the roughness of barbarism.

Career of
 Boethius.

To the career of the younger Senator we now
 return. Boethius was an ardent student of Greek

Boethius (ii. 3 and 4), who calls him *pretiosissimum generis hu-
 mani decus, Symmachus*; (2) two letters of Ennodius, vii. 25,
 viii. 28 (the latter is not addressed to him, but speaks of send-
 ing a letter to him for emendation), and the Paraenesis of the
 same author (Opusc. vi), in which he praises Symmachus and
 other members of the Roman nobility in very glowing language;
 (3) the letters of Cassiodorus (Var. ii. 14, iv. 6 and 51); the
 last, giving him a commission to repair the Theatre of Pompey
 at the royal expense, is the one which describes his good deeds
 to the city of Rome; (4) and most important, the recently dis-
 covered memorandum (Anecdoton Holderi, ed. Usener, 1877),
 in which a contemporary, apparently Cassiodorus himself, thus
 describes him:—

*'Symmachus, patricius et consul ordinarius, vir philosophus,
 qui antiqui Catonis fuit novellus imitator, sed virtutes veterum
 sanctissima religione transcendit. Dixit sententiam pro allecti-
 ciis in senatu, parentesque suos imitatus, historiam quoque
 Romanam septem libris edidit.'*

The *allecticii* for whom Symmachus spoke, were, if Usener's
 conjecture be correct, the men who had received official pro-
 motion in the reign of Odovacar, and whose right to retain the
 dignity so acquired Symmachus defended.

The 'parent' whose historical activity Symmachus imitated
 was, according to Usener, Vibius Nicomachus Flavianus (who
 died in 394), an ancestor by the mother's side. But seeing
 that Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 280, ed. Migne) calls the
 elder Symmachus *λογγράφος*, which may mean *historian* as
 well as *orator*, we may perhaps conjecture that we have here
 an allusion to some lost history written by *that* ancestor of
 Symmachus Junior.

philosophy, but we have no evidence that he ever visited Greece. The notion that he actually studied at Athens seems to have been chiefly derived from the misunderstanding of a figurative expression of Cassiodorus as to his familiarity with Greek science¹. He early attained high rank in the State. Consul at about the age of thirty, and apparently even before that time dignified with the honour of the Patriciate, he was evidently, in those years of adolescence and early middle age, in high favour with the Ostrogothic King. His heart, however, was not in the stately presence-chamber of king or prefect, not with the shouting and excited crowd who lined the dusty hippodrome, but in the delightful retirement of his library. Here, in this temple of philosophy, adorned as its walls were with ivory and glass, did he hold converse deep into the night with the heavenly visitant, who was to come to him again in far other environment and cheer the squalid solitude of his dungeon².

The chief literary object of Boethius was to familiarise his countrymen with what he deemed

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

510.

His literary work.

¹ Var. i. 45: 'Sic enim Atheniensium scholas *longe positus* introisti . . . ut Graecorum dogmata doctrinam feceris esse Romanam.'

² 'Haecce est bybliothea [it is Philosophy whom he addresses] quam, certissimam tibi sedem, nostris in laribus, ipsa delegeras, in qua mecum saepe residens de humanarum divinarumque rerum scientia disserebas?' (Phil. Cons. i. 4); and again, in Philosophy's reply, 'Itaque non tam me loci hujus quam tua facies movet, nec bybliothecae potius comptos ebore ac vitro parietes quam tuae mentis sedem requiro' (Phil. Cons. i. 5).

BOOK IV. best in Greek speculation ; carrying on the work
 CH. 12.

which had been commenced by Cicero, and applying it to some writers whom it was harder to treat in a popular manner than those whom Cicero had expanded. He translated, Cassiodorus tells us¹, Pythagoras for the theory of music, Ptolemy for astronomy, Nicomachus for arithmetic, Euclid for geometry. But the chief work of these prosperous days, and that by which he most profoundly influenced the thoughts of after-times, was his commentaries on the logical treatises of Aristotle. The Categories, the Syllogism, the Analytics, and the Topics, with some minor treatises, thirty books in all, were translated by this indefatigable scholar, heir to one of the greatest names and one of the finest fortunes in Rome, but intent on placing philosophical truth within the reach of his fellow-countrymen. 'It

His influence on the schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

seems to have been in great measure through the translations and commentaries of Boethius that the mediæval Schoolmen made their acquaintance with the philosopher of Stagira. From him, at least in part, they derived the materials for the long war of words between the Nominalists and Realists ; though Boethius himself, 'rushing into the battle at once with the valour of his race and his own personal intrepidity, gravely and peremptorily decides a question in which the doctors of Europe for centuries were to engage²,' by avowing him-

¹ Variae, i. 45.

² I take this quotation from the Rev. F. D. Maurice's 'Mediæval Philosophy,' from whose sketch of Boethius the greater part of the above paragraph is borrowed.

self a Realist. Boethius's own belief in the absolute existence of the Aristotelian conception, Genus, Species, Difference, Property, and Accident is firm and immutable, and the ardour of his conviction impressed itself on many generations of his readers.

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

An avowed
Realist.

On the whole the encyclopædic labours of Boethius, though in the very highest degree honourable to the worker, have perhaps been of somewhat doubtful benefit to the world. It has been admirably said, by one well fitted to understand his intellectual position¹, 'Qualities, quantities, magnitudes, multitudes—who does not see that these names were building a prison for Boethius, of which the walls were far higher and more impenetrable than those of the one to which Theodoric consigned him? There was positively no escape, above, below, through ceiling or pavement, for one confined within this word-fortress: scarcely an aperture, one would have thought, for air or light to enter in.' And great as the authority of Boethius was for many centuries on the science of music as known to the ancient world, it seems to be thought, by those best qualified to judge, that his own knowledge of the subject was somewhat inaccurate, and that by going back to the Pythagorean scale he really retarded the scientific development of the art².

Doubtful
benefit of
his writings.

¹ Rev. F. D. Maurice (*ubi supra*).

² So says Sir G. A. Macfarren in his article 'Music' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where he even asserts that 'the very

BOOK IV.

CH. 12.

**Boethius
as a me-
chanician.**

But Boethius was more than a mere student, however laborious ; more than a populariser of the work of other men, however successful. He was also a highly skilled mechanician—a character which since the days of Archimedes had not been greatly affected even by the philosophers of Greece, and which a mere Roman noble might have been in danger of despising as beneath his dignity. Whenever Theodoric and his ministers were in want of advice on a mechanical, or (to use the modern term) on a chemical question, Boethius was the person to whom they naturally had recourse. If Gundobad the Burgundian was to be flattered and awed by an exhibition of Italian skill, Boethius must construct the wonderful water-clock which was to mark out the length of each successive solar day, the orrery (as we should call it) which was to imitate the movement of the solar system¹. If a skilful player on the cithara was to be sent to the court of Clovis the Frank, Boethius must select the performer². If the life-guards³ complained that the paymaster was putting them off with coins of inferior weight and fineness, Boethius was called upon, as Archimedes in a similar case by Hiero of Syracuse, to detect the fraud⁴. That these friendly and familiar relations between the subject and his King should terminate

eminence of Boethius makes it matter of regret that he ever wrote upon Music.'

¹ *Variae*, i. 45.

² *Domestici*.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 40.

⁴ *Variae*, i. 10.

in the dungeon, the cord, and the bludgeon, is one of the saddest pages in the history of courts. BOOK IV.
Ch. 12.

In addition to his other occupations, Boethius entered the thorny labyrinth of theological controversy. A debate, which was carried on for many generations, as to the identity of Boethius the philosopher with Boethius the theologian, is now finally settled by the language of the fragment so often referred to¹, which asserts that 'he wrote a book concerning the holy Trinity, and some dogmatic chapters and a book against Nestorius. He also wrote a bucolic poem.'

A nobleman with these various endowments, philosopher, musician, astronomer, mechanician, poet, theologian, and the best writer of Latin prose of his century, was certainly a considerable figure on the stage of history. We have now to consider him in his character of politician—a character which one is disposed to think it would have been well both for him and for Italy that he had never assumed. He tells us, in a review of his past career², that it was in obedience to the teachings of Plato that he entered the domain of politics. Plato had said that states would be happy if either philosophers were kings or kings philosophers. He had also declared that the wise ought to take a share in political affairs, in order to prevent the disaster and ruin which would fall upon the good if the

Boethius
as a states-
man.

¹ Anecdoton Holderi.

² Philosophiae Consolatio, i. 4.

BOOK IV. helm of the State were to be left in the hands of
 CH. 12. dishonest and immoral men.

His reasons for entering into public life,

‘Guided by this authority,’ says he in his imagined colloquy with Philosophy, ‘I sought to translate into practical and public life the lessons which I had learned from thee in the secrecy of the study. Thou, and the God who breathed thee into the souls of the wise, are my witnesses, that nought moved me to the acceptance of office but the desire to promote the general welfare of my fellow-citizens. Hence came those bitter and implacable discords with scoundrels, and hereby was I strengthened to do what all must do who would keep a clear conscience, despise the anger of the great when I knew that I was championing the right.

His disputes with wrong-doers.

‘How often have I met the rush of Cunigast when coming on open-mouthed to devour the property of the poor! How often have I baffled Triguilla the royal chamberlain¹ in some course of injustice which he had begun and all but completed! How often have I interposed my influence to protect the poor creatures whom the unbridled avarice of the barbarians was for ever worrying with false accusations!

‘Never did any one turn me aside from right to wrong-doing. When I saw the fortunes of the Provincials being ruined at once by private robbery and by the public taxes, I grieved as much as the sufferers themselves. At a time of severe famine,

¹ ‘Regiæ praepositum domus.’

when a rigorous and unaccountable order of 'co-emption' was like to strike the whole province of Campania¹ with poverty, I commenced in the public interest, *and with the knowledge of the King*, a struggle against the Prætorian Prefect, which was crowned with success, and led to the abandonment of the coemption.'

The reader will notice that in the above passage Boethius fairly enough attributes to Theodoric knowledge and approval of his attempts to preserve the Provincials of Campania from oppression. And indeed, on comparing this passage with those letters of Cassiodorus², which describe the disgrace of Faustus, we can hardly doubt that the latter nobleman is the Prætorian Prefect here referred to, and that Boethius co-operated with Cassiodorus to obtain at least a temporary suspension of the powers of so grasping and tyrannical a governor.

In these
Boethius
co-operated
with Theo-
doric.

Boethius then mentions the case of 'Paulinus, a man of consular rank, for whose wealth the dogs of the palace were hungering and had in fancy already devoured it, but who was rescued by me from their hungry jaws.'

So far we have heard nothing that is not in entire conformity with the uniform tenour of the Various Letters of Cassiodorus, nothing as to which we may not believe that the conduct of

¹ Equivalent to the Latium and Campania of Republican geography, united.

² iii. 20 and 21, and (probably) 27.

BOOK IV.
Ch. 12.

Boethius was wise, statesmanlike, and in perfect accord with the wishes of Theodoric and his great minister. Both Goths like Trigguilla, and Romans like Faustus, were continually, with Pacha-like voracity, scenting the prey of the subject Provincials, and it needed all the watchfulness and all the courage of the central government at Ravenna to detect and to punish their crimes.

famous
red
s-
and
family.

It was no doubt partly in reward of such services, and in order to mark the King's appreciation of the character and attainments of his distinguished courtier, that honours and offices were bestowed on Boethius and his family. His own consulship made the year 510 illustrious. In 522 his two sons, Symmachus and Boethius, one bearing his own name, and the other that of his honoured father-in-law, notwithstanding their extreme youth, were arrayed in the consular robes. The proud father, little dreaming of the ruin which was already nigh at hand, addressed Theodoric from his place in the Senate in a brilliant speech of panegyric¹. Afterwards, probably on the 1st of September in the same year, Boethius was promoted to the highly important and confidential post of Master of the Offices, which dignity he held when the storm of the royal displeasure burst upon him.

We thus come to the case of Albinus. Again

¹ (Boethius) 'qui regem Theodoricum in senatu pro consulatu filiorum luculenta oratione laudavit' (*Anecdota Holderi*).

Boethius himself shall describe it to us, and while BOOK IV.
reading his words, it will be well to compare them CH. 12.
with the shorter but generally harmonious account
given by the Anonymus Valesii ¹.

‘That Albinus the Consular might not undergo Case of Albinus.
punishment upon a foregone conclusion of his guilt,
I set myself against the wrath of the informer The in-
Cyprian. Great indeed were the animosities which formers,
I thereby sharpened against myself [namely, of Cyprian,
Cyprian’s party]; but I ought to have been all the
safer with the rest [of the Senators], who knew that
from my love of justice I had left myself no place
of safety with the courtiers². But, on the contrary,
who were the informers by whom I was struck down?
[They were Senators themselves.] Basilius, long Basilius,
ago turned out of the King’s service, was driven
by pressure of debt to calumniate my name. Opilio Opilio,
and Gaudentius, when, on account of their number- Gauden-
less and varied frauds, they had been ordered by a tius.
royal decree to quit the country, not choosing to
obey, sought the shelter of the sanctuary. This
came to the King’s ears, and he ordered that,
unless by a given day they had left Ravenna, they
should be driven forth with a brand of infamy on
their foreheads. What more stringent measure
could have been adopted? Yet on that very day
they laid their information against me, and that
information was accepted. Was that a fitting

¹ See p. 519.

² ‘Sed esse apud ceteros tutior debui qui mihi amore justitiae nihil apud aulicos quo magis essem tutior reservavi.’

BOOK IV. reward for my services? Did the foregone conclusion to condemn me turn those accusers into honest men? Had Fortune no shame, if not for the innocence of the accused, at least for the villainy of the accusers?

Boethius' account of the charge against him.

‘But perhaps you ask in fine, of what crime is it that I am accused. *I am said to have desired the safety of the Senate.* “In what way?” you ask. I am accused of having prevented an informer from producing certain documents in order to prove the Senate guilty of high treason. What is your advice then, oh my teacher? Shall I deny the charge in order that I may not bring disgrace upon you? But I did wish for the safety of the Senate, and shall never cease to wish for it. Shall I confess? That would be to play into the hands of the informer. Shall I call it a crime to have desired the safety of that venerable order? I can only think of their decrees concerning me as a reason why that should be a crime. But imprudence, though ever untrue to itself, cannot alter the nature of things, and, influenced as I am by the teachings of Socrates, I do not think it right either to conceal the truth or to admit a falsehood.

‘How this may be [what may be my duty to the Senate now that it has deserted me,] I leave to be settled by thy judgment and that of the sages. In order that the truth and the real connection of the whole affair may not be hidden from posterity, I have drawn up a written memorandum

concerning it. For, as for those forged letters, by which I am accused of having hoped for Roman freedom, why should I say anything about them? Their falsity would have been manifest if I had been allowed to use the confession of the informers themselves, which is always considered of the greatest weight. For what chance of freedom, pray, is still left to us? Would, indeed, that there were any such chance. [Had I been examined in the King's presence] I would have answered in the words of Canius, who, when accused by Caius [Caligula] of being privy to the conspiracy against him, answered, "If I had known of it, thou shouldest have never known¹."

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.
The forged
letters to
Constantinople.

Boethius then expresses his wonder that a good God can suffer the wicked thus to triumph over the righteous. As an earlier philosopher had said, 'If there be a God, whence comes evil hither? And if there be none, whence comes good?'

'But let it be granted that it was natural for evil-minded men, who were thirsting for the blood of the Senate and of all good citizens, to seek to compass my ruin, because they saw in me the champion of both classes. But did I deserve this treatment at the hands of the Senate also? Since you [O Philosophy] ever present beside me, directed all my sayings and doings, you will remember, I think, that day at Verona, when the

He complains
of the
Senate's
treatment
of him.

¹ I. e. 'I would have made the conspiracy a success.' We do not appear to have any other information about the conspiracy of Canius.

BOOK IV. King, eager for a general slaughter, laboured to
Ch. 12. transfer the charge of treason brought against
Albinus, to all the Senate. At what great peril
 to myself did I defend the innocence of the whole
 order!¹ You know that in all this I am putting
 forth nothing but the truth, and am indulging in no
 vain boastings. . . . My innocence has been more
 hardly dealt with than confessed guilt. Scarcely
 would an avowed criminal find *all* his judges
 unanimous against him, nor one disposed to make
 allowance for the frailty of the human mind, or to
 remember the inconstancy of Fortune. If I had
 been accused of wishing to burn the sacred edifices,
 to slay the priests with impious sword, to plot the
 murder of all good citizens, I should at least have
 been confronted with my accusers, and have either
 confessed my guilt or been convicted before I was
 punished. But now, at a distance of about 500
 miles from my judges, dumb and undefended, I
 have been condemned to death and the forfeiture
 of my estate. For what? For too earnest love
 towards the Senate [my judges]. Assuredly they
 deserve that no one should ever again suffer on
 such a charge: a charge which even they who
 made it, saw to be so far from dishonourable that
 they were obliged to darken it with the admixture
 of some wickedness.

¹ 'Meministi, Veronae cum rex, avidus exitii communis, majestatis crimen in Albinum delatae ad cunctum senatus ordinem transferre moliretur, universi innocentiam senatus quanta mei periculi secuntate defenderim.'

‘They therefore falsely alleged that, in my pursuit of office, I had stained my conscience with sacrilege¹. Whereas thou, present in my breast, hadst driven base cupidity from thence, and under thy holy eyes there was no room for sacrilege. Thou hadst daily instilled into mine ears and thoughts the great Pythagorean maxim, “Follow God².” How could I, whom thou hadst thus been fashioning into the divine likeness, seek to gain the favour of the baser spirits [of the under-world]? Moreover the innocent retirement of my home, the companionship of my honoured friends, the very presence of my father-in-law, a man holy and reverend as thou art, should have defended me from the suspicion of such crimes. But, alas! my very friendship with thee lent colour to the charge, and it was for this cause that I seemed likely to have practised divination, because I was known to be imbued with the teachings of Philosophy.’

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

Charge of
sacrilege
and divination.

It will not be needful to repeat to the reader any more of the sad ejaculations of Boethius. Failing that memorandum as to his defence, which he composed, and the loss of which leaves a lamentable gap in our knowledge of his case, we may take these few paragraphs as his plea against his accusers at the bar of history. With all its passionate declamation it does make some points of the story clearer.

Points
proved by
the state-
ment of
Boethius

¹ ‘Ob ambitum dignitatis sacrilegio me conscientiam polluisse mentiti sunt.’

² ΕΠΟΥ ΘΕΟΝ.

BOOK IV. (1) It is plain that Boethius was in no sense a
CH. 12. martyr to orthodoxy. He was a Catholic, and
 * Theodoric was an Arian, but that difference of
 creed had evidently no direct connection with
 the disgrace and death of the philosopher.

nor of Goth
 against
 Roman.

(2) Nor was it directly a case of Goth against
 Roman. The names of Gothic enemies which he
 mentions—Trigguilla, Cunigast, perhaps ‘the dogs
 of the palace’—are all connected with his earlier
 life. In this latest act of the drama the ‘delatores’
 against him are all Romans, Cyprian, Basilius,
 Gaudentius, Opilio. And this agrees with the
 hints of the Anonymus Valesii, who says that
 the informer was moved by cupidity; and with
 the language of Procopius, who declares that the
 wealth, the philosophic pursuits, the charity and
 the renown of Symmachus and Boethius, had
 stirred up envy in the breasts of spiteful men
 who laid a false charge against them before
 Theodoric, that they were plotting a revolution¹.
 Though the government is equally responsible on
 either hypothesis, it was Roman fraud, not Gothic
 force, which set the powers of government in
 motion.

¹ Σύμμαχος καὶ Βοέτιος, ὁ τούτου γαμβρός, εἰπατρίδαι μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν
 ἦσθην, πρῶτω δὲ βουλῇς τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπάτω ἐγενέσθην. Ἄμφω τε
 φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσαντε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελησαμένω οὐδενὸς ἤσαντο,
 πολλοῖς τε ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἰασαμένω καὶ δόξης ἐπὶ
 μέγα χωρήσαντε ἄνδρας ἐς φόβον τοὺς πικροτάτους ἐπηγαγέτην. Οἷς δὲ
 συκοφαντοῦσι Θεοδῆριχος ἀναπεισθεῖς, ἅτε νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχα-
 ρούντας, τῷ ἄνδρῃ τούτῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνά-
 γραπτα ἐποίησατο (Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, i. 1; p. 11, ed.
 Bonn).

(3) It was by *the Senate* that Boethius was condemned to death and proscription. Here, too, the ultimate responsibility is not removed from the king, before whose frown the slavish Senate trembled. As we do not accept it as any apology for the sanguinary deeds of a Tudor prince, that his Parliament was found willing to invest them with the forms of law, so too the condemnation of Boethius, if unjust, stains the memory of Theodoric equally, whether passed by the Conscript Fathers in Rome or by his own *Comitatus* at Ravenna. But how shall we think of the case if evidence were laid before them which the Senate, with all their good-will to the prisoner, could not ignore? At any rate the interposition of the Senate shows that we have not to do with a mere outbreak of lawless savagery on the part of the Gothic King.

(4) The case was strangely complicated by an accusation against Boethius, that he practised forbidden arts and sought to familiar spirits. Ridiculous as this accusation seems to us, we can easily see how the pursuits of so clever a mechanician as Boethius would in the eyes of the ignorant multitude give plausibility to the charge. The Theodosian code teemed with enactments against *Mathematici*¹, meaning, of course, primarily the

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

He was
condemned
by the
Senate.

Boethius
was con-
demned
partly as
an astro-
loger and
diviner.

¹ Take for instance Cod. Theod. ix. 16. 12: 'Mathematicos, nisi parati sint, Codicibus erroris proprii sub oculis Episcoporum incendio concrematis, Catholicae religionis cultui fidem tradere, nunquam ad errorem praeteritum redituri, non solum Urbe Roma, sed etiam omnibus civitatibus pelli decernimus.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

impostors who calculated nativities and cast horoscopes. From many allusions in the 'Consolation' we infer that astronomy was to Boethius the most attractive of all the sciences. He would have been centuries in advance of his age if he had been able to divest his study of the heavenly bodies of all taint of astrological superstition¹. The insinuation that a profound mathematician must needs possess unlawful means of prying into the future, was of course absurd; but it is not the barbarous ignorance of the Goth, but the superstitious legislation of generations of Christian Emperors, that must bear the blame of *this* miscarriage of justice.

There is one more witness, (a sad and unwilling witness,) who must be examined, and then the evidence in this mysterious case will be all before

The silence
of Cassio-
dorus tells
against
Theodoric,

the reader. Cassiodorus, in all the twelve books of his letters, makes, I believe, no reference, direct or indirect, to the death of Boethius and Symmachus. This silence tells against Theodoric. Had the execution of the two statesmen been a righteous and necessary act, it is hardly likely that Cassiodorus would have so studiously avoided all allusion to the act itself, and to the share which he, the chief counsellor of Theodoric, may have had

This law was passed by Honorius in 409, a year before Alaric's capture of Rome.

¹ In fact he half confesses a belief in astrology in the following passage of the 'Consolation': 'Sive igitur famulantibus quibusdam providentiae divinis spiritibus fatum exercetur—seu caelestibus siderum motibus' (iv. 6).

in the doing of it. As it is, we may almost imagine, though we cannot prove, that the minister, finding his master bent upon hot and revengeful deeds, such as could only mar the good work of their joint lifetimes, retired from active co-operation in the work of government, and left his master to do or undo at his pleasure, unchecked by a word from him.

Yet the evidence of Cassiodorus tells also some-
 what against Boethius. The reader has seen in what tints of unrelieved blackness the philosopher paints all those who were concerned in his downfall. The letters of Cassiodorus, written after Theodoric's death, collected and published when their author was retiring from politics, give a very different impression of these men.

Cyprian, the accuser of Albinus, who was forced to become the accuser of Boethius also, appears to have been a Roman of noble birth, son of a consul¹, to have been appointed *referendarius* in the king's court of appeal, and in that capacity to have had the duty of stating the cases of the litigants, first from one point of view, then from the other. The fairness with which he did this, the nimbleness of mind with which he succeeded in presenting the best points of each case without doing injustice to the other, often excited the admiration of the suitors themselves. Then, when Theodoric was weary of sitting in his court, he would often mount his horse and order Cyprian

BOOK IV.

CH. 12.

but he
shows that
Boethius
has been
unjust to
his ac-
cusers.

His cha-
racter of
Cyprian.

¹ Opilio.

BOOK IV. to accompany him in a ride through the whisper-
 CH. 12. ing pine-wood of Ravenna. As they went, Cyprian
 would often, by the King's command, describe the
 main features of a case which was to come before
 the *Comitatus*. In his hands, the dull details of
 litigation became interesting to the Gothic King,
 who, even when Cyprian was putting a hopelessly
 bad case before him, moderated his anger at the
 impudence of the litigant, in deference to the
 charm of his counsellor's narration.

Cyprian, after some years' service as Referen-
 darius, was sent on an important embassy to Con-
 stantinople, in which he successfully upheld his
 master's interests at the Imperial Court. He was
 afterwards, apparently after the execution of Boe-
 thius, appointed to the high office of chief Finance
 Minister of the kingdom¹.

Probable
 explana-
 tion of the
 motives of
 Cyprian.

One would have said that this was the record
 of a fair and honourable official career, and that he
 who pursued it was not likely to be a base and per-
 jured informer. Rather does it suggest to the mind
 the painful position of a statesman who, Roman
 himself, knew that many other Romans were not
 dealing faithfully by his Gothic King, but, by under-
 hand intrigues at Constantinople, were seeking to
 prepare a counter revolution. His situation would
 thus be like that of a minister of Dutch William
 or Hanoverian George; bound in honesty to the

¹ Count of the Sacred Largesses. The appointment was 'at
 the third Indiction.' This might be either 509 or 524, but the
 latter is much the more probable date.

king whose bread he is eating to denounce the treasons of the Jacobite conspirators around him, even though they be his countrymen and the king a foreigner. He names Albinus, whose guilt he is certain of. Boethius, the all-honoured and all-envied, steps forward, and thinks, by throwing the shelter of his great name over the defendant, to quash the accusation. With regret, but of necessity, Cyprian enlarges his charge, saying, 'Well, if you will have it so—and Boethius too.'

Let us turn to the characters of the other accusers. It is true that Basilius, 'long ago turned out of the King's service,' may be the same as the Basilius who was accused along with Praetextatus of being addicted to magical arts and whose case was handed over to the Prefect of the city for trial¹. Basilius, however, is a somewhat common name, and we must not be too certain of this identification. But as to Opilio, we have strong evidence from Cassiodorus, which makes it almost impossible that the passionate invective of Boethius can be absolutely true. Opilio was evidently the brother of Cyprian, and probably grandson of the consul of 453, who was also called Opilio. In 527, four years after these events, he was raised by Amalasuntha, probably on the advice of Cassiodorus, to the responsible office of Count of the Sacred Largesses, which had been previously held by his brother. In the letters announcing his promotion to this office, the loyalty

BOOK IV.

CH. 12.

Cassiodorus' testimony as to Basilius,

and Opilio, who was brother to Cyprian.

¹ Cass. Var. iv. 22, 23.

BOOK IV. and truth of character, both of Opilio and Cyprian,
CH. 12. are enthusiastically praised. 'Why should I describe the merits of his ancestors when he shines so conspicuously by the less remote light of his brother? They are near relations, but yet nearer friends. He has so associated himself with that brother's virtues that one is uncertain which of the two one should praise the more highly. Cyprian is a most faithful friend, but Opilio shows unshaken constancy in the observance of his promises. Cyprian is devoid of avarice, and Opilio shows himself a stranger to cupidity. Hence it comes that they have known how to keep faith with their sovereigns, because they know not how to act perfidiously towards their equals. It is in this unfettered intercourse that the character is best shown. How can such men help serving their lords honourably, when they have no thought of taking an unfair advantage of their colleagues¹?'

Doubtless these official encomiums are to be received with caution, but, after making all due abatement, it is impossible to suppose that Cassiodorus would have deliberately republished letters, full of such high praises of men, whom all his contemporaries knew to be, in truth, the base scoundrels described by Boethius.

¹ 'Amicitia ille praestat fidem; sed magnam promissis debet iste constantiam. Ille quoque avaritia vacuus, et iste a cupiditatibus probatur alienus. Hinc est quod norunt regibus servare fidem, quia nesciunt vel inter aequales exercere perfidiam. . . . Quomodo ergo sub puritate non serviant dominis suis, qui nesciunt illuisse collegis' (Cass. Var. viii. 17).

In connection with this subject we must take also some words of the philosopher with reference to one of his colleagues in office. When he is musing on the vanity of human wishes, and showing why the honours of the State cannot satisfy man's aspirations after happiness, he says, or rather Philosophy says to him, 'Was it really worth while to undergo so many perils in order that thou mightest wear the honours of the magistracy with Decoratus, though thou sawest in him the mind of a base informer and buffoon?' Now Decoratus—the name is too uncommon to make it probable that there were two contemporaries bearing it—was a young nobleman of Spoleto, a man of some eminence as an orator, loyal, faithful, and generous. He died in the prime of life, and the King, who deeply regretted him, sought to repay some part of the debt owing to Decoratus by advancing in the career of office his younger brother Honoratus. Such is the picture of his character which we collect, not only from two letters of Cassiodorus¹, but also from one of Ennodius², and from the more doubtful evidence of his epitaph³. Are all these men's characters to be blasted, because of the passionate words of Boethius in his dungeon? Do not these words rather return upon himself, and can we not now see something more of his true character? To me they indicate the faults of a student-statesman, brilliant as a man of letters,

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.
Boethius abuses Decoratus, who is highly spoken of by other contemporaries.
Sug-
gestions as to the real character of Boethius as a politician.

¹ *Variarum*, v. 3 and 4.

² iv. 17.

³ Quoted in the notes to Ennodius, l. c. (Migne, lxxiii. 78).

BOOK IV. unrivalled as a man of science, irreproachable so
 CH. 12. long as he remained in the seclusion of his library;
 but utterly unfit for affairs; passionate and ungenerous; incapable of recognising the fact that there might be other points of view beside his own; persuaded that every one who wounded his vanity must be a scoundrel, or at best a buffoon;—in short, an impracticable colleague, and, with all his honourable aspirations, an unscrupulous enemy.

End of the
 analysis of
 the case.

The reader has now before him all the evidence that is forthcoming with reference to this most important but most perplexing State-trial. A historian shrinks from pronouncing his own verdict in such a case. His admiration and sympathy are due in different ways both to the author of the sentence and to its victim; and he can only extenuate the fault of Theodoric by magnifying, perhaps unduly, the fault of Boethius. But, after all the analysis that we have been engaged in, some short synthetical statement seems needful for the sake of clearness.

Attempted
 synthesis.

It was probably some time in the year 523 that Theodoric was first informed that some of the leading Senators were in secret correspondence with the Emperor. The tidings came at a critical time. In the previous year the great Ostrogoth had heard of his grandson Segeric's death, inflicted by order of his father, the Catholic King of Burgundy. In May or June of this year came the news that his own sister, the stately Queen of the Vandals, Amalafrida, was shut up in prison

by the Catholic Hilderic. Must then 'the aspiring blood of' Amala 'sink in the ground?' Was there a conspiracy everywhere among these lesser lords of the Germans, both against the creed of their forefathers, and against the great Ostrogothic house which had been the pillar of the new European State-system? Such were the suggestions that goaded the old hero almost to madness. He had now just reached the seventh decade of life; and the temper so well kept in curb all through his middle years, since the day when he slew Odo-vacar, was beginning to throw off the control of the feebler brain of age.

Then came the scene of the denunciation of Albinus. It happened apparently at Verona, most likely in the High Court of Justice (*Comitatus*) of the King. Boethius generously steps forward to shield Albinus. Cyprian, driven into a corner, reluctantly accuses Boethius also. Of what was it that Albinus and Boethius were accused? This, which should be the plainest part of the whole transaction, is in fact the darkest. None of our authorities really enable us to reconstruct the indictment against the Senators. Boethius shrilly vociferates that he was accused of nothing but 'desiring the safety of the Senate,' which, taken literally, is absurd. But we have seen abundantly how indefinite and anomalous was the tie which bound both the Senate, and in some sort Theodoric himself, to the Empire. Is it possible that the letters which were sent by the senatorial party

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

The scene
at Verona.

What were
Albinus
and Boe-
thius ac-
cused of?

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

urged Justin to turn this shadowy senior-partnership into real supremacy, and especially claimed *for the members of the Senate that they should be judged only by the tribunals of the Empire, not by those of Theodoric?* Some such demand as this would explain the words of Boethius about 'desiring the safety of the Senate.' At the same time it was a proposal which, in the actual circumstances of both realms, meant really treason to Theodoric.

The letters
to Constantinople,

It seems probable that some letters of this or similar purport were actually signed by Boethius as well as by Albinus and forwarded to Constantinople. Boethius says that the letters which were produced against him were forged. Perhaps, in reality, they were tampered with, rather than forged from beginning to end. It was a case in which the alteration of a few words might make all the difference between that which was and that which was not consistent with a good subject's duty to Theodoric. If any such vile work were done, the author of it may have been Gaudentius, the chief object of the vituperations of the philosopher for whom we can produce no rebutting evidence from the pages of Cassiodorus.

perhaps
tampered
with by
Gauden-
tius.

Boethius
condemned
by the
Senate
without
a hearing.

Whatever the accusation, and whatever the proofs, they appear to have been all forwarded to Rome, where the Senate, with base cowardice and injustice, trembling before the wrath of the King, unanimously found Boethius guilty of treason, and perhaps of sacrilege also. He was never confronted

with his accusers, but was all the time lying in prison at Pavia or Calvenzano. Albinus disappears from the narrative, but was probably condemned along with Boethius.

For some reason which is not explained to us Boethius was kept in confinement for a considerable time, probably for the latter half of 523 and the earlier half of 524. The King was evidently greatly enraged against him. Probably the recent consulships bestowed on the sons of the conspirator and the flowery panegyric which he had then pronounced on Theodoric quickened the resentment of the King by the stings of ingratitude and, as it seemed, successful deception. It is possible that the reason for this long delay may have been a desire to wring from Boethius the names of his fellow-conspirators; and if so, we dare not altogether reject the story told by the Anonymus Valesii of the tortures applied to him in the prison. In itself this writer's narrative is not of a kind that commands implicit faith, and one is disposed to set down the story of the twisted cord and the protruding eyes as a fit companion to that told a few lines before of the woman who gave birth to the dragons, and of their airy passage to the sea. The author is evidently misinformed as to some circumstances of the trial, since he makes the King, not the Senate, pass sentence on Boethius, and represents the sentence as soon¹ carried out, whereas the philosopher undoubtedly languished for a

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.
His imprisonment
and possible torture.

¹ 'Mox.'

BOOK IV. considerable time in prison after his condemna-
CH. 12. tion¹.

Execution of Boethius. The death of Boethius occurred probably about the middle of 524. We have no means of ascertaining the date more accurately. Then came the Mission of the Pope to Constantinople; and before his return, apparently early in 525, the citation of the venerable Symmachus to Ravenna, and his execution. From the whole tenor of the narrative it is safe to infer that this was much more the personal act of Theodoric than the condemnation of Boethius had been. The evidence, if evidence there was, of conspiracy was probably far slighter. Fear was the King's chief counsellor, and, as ever, an evil counsellor. The course of argument was like that of Henry VIII in his later years, or the Committee of Public Safety in the French Revolution. 'Symmachus has lost his son-in-law; Symmachus must be disaffected to the monarchy; let Symmachus be prevented from conspiring—by the executioner.' It is clear, from the stories which were floating about in the next generation, that this act was the one which was most severely blamed by contemporaries, and the one which lay heaviest on the King's own conscience.

In short, from such information as we can collect, it seems right to conclude,—

¹ The literal accuracy of the Anonymus is also rendered doubtful by the fact that both Anastasius Bibliothecarius (in the life of Pope John; Muratori, iii. 126) and Agnellus (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 304) speak of Boethius as *beheaded*.

(1) That the death of Boethius, though a grievous blunder, was, according to the principles of self-preservation acted upon by all rulers, not a crime.

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.
Conclusion: as to
Theodoric,

(2) That if torture were employed, which is too probable but not proved, such a proceeding was an infamy.

(3) That the death of Symmachus was both a blunder and a crime.

But while condemning the conduct of Theodoric we may also lament the error of judgment which led the high-minded but visionary Boethius into the field of politics. He had doubtless noble dreams for the future of a reorganized and imperial Italy; dreams which entitle him to reach over eight centuries and clasp the hand of the Florentine poet, the author of the *De Monarchia*. But in that near future to which politicians must confine their gaze, the restoration of the Empire meant the carnival of the tax-collectors of Byzantium; the ascendancy of the Church meant the inroads of the fierce and faithless Frank. These evils would have been avoided and centuries of horror would have been spared to Italy, if the inglorious policy of Cassiodorus, the statesman of the hour, might have prevailed over the brilliant dreams of Boethius, the student and the seer.

I have purposely reserved to the last, till these matters of political debate were disposed of, the mention of the great work which has made the imprisonment of Boethius for ever memorable—his

The Philosophiæ
Consolatio.

BOOK IV. 'Consolation of Philosophy.' The title of the book
CH. 12. is ambiguous; but it need hardly be said that Philosophy is not the consoled one but the consoler. She indeed, at the end of the dismal tragedy, might well seem to need comfort for the loss of her favourite disciple. But in this book he, still living, describes how she braced and cheered him in his dungeon, when he was tempted to repine at his unmerited downfall, and to murmur at the triumph of the bad, at the apparent forgetfulness of the just Ruler of the world.

Scheme of
the book.

The scheme of the book is on this wise. The 'author of the bucolic poem,' sick and in prison, employs his lonely hours in writing verses, and thus he sings :—

Prologue.

'I, who once touched the lyre with joyful hand,
 Now, in my grief, do tread sad ways of song.
 Lo! at my side the tearful Muses stand
 To guide my heartfelt elegy of wrong.

No tyrant's wrath deters these guests sublime
 From journeying with me all my downward way;
 These, the bright comrades of my joyous Prime,
 And now, my weary Age's only stay.

Yes: weary Age. For Youth with Joy has fled,
 And Sadness brings her hoar companion.
 Untimely honours silver o'er my head,
 Untimely wrinkles score my visage wan.

Oh! happy they from whose delightful years
 Death tarries far, to come, when called, with speed.
 But deaf is Death to me, though called with tears:
 These tearful eyes he will not close at need.

While still my bark sped on with favouring breeze,
Me, Death unlooked-for all but swept away.
Now, when all round me roar the angry seas,
Life, cruel Life, protracts her tedious stay.

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

How oft you named me happy, oh my friends.
Not happy he, whose bliss such ruin ends.'

Scarce has the mourning philosopher thus uttered his grief in song, when he lifts up his eyes and sees a mysterious form standing beside him. A woman, she seems, of venerable face, with gleaming eyes, with every sign of youthful vigour about her, and yet with something in her countenance which tells of life protracted through untold centuries. Her very stature is mysterious and indefinite. Now her head seems to touch the skies, and now she is only of the ordinary height of men. The raiment which she wears was woven by her own hands of finest gossamer thread, and is dark with age. On the lower hem of her robe is embroidered the letter P, on the upper one T¹. (These letters, as we afterwards learn, stand for Practical and Theoretical Wisdom.) Upon the robe is embroidered the likeness of steps leading up from the lower letter to the higher². In her right hand

Book I,
Entrance
of Philoso-
phy.

¹ In the original Π. and Θ. for Πρακτική and Θεωρητική.

² And Boethius adds—but here, I think, his desire to point a moral leads him to spoil his picture—that the lady's garment is all in rags, having been rent by the hands of violent men, who wave as trophies the pieces which they have torn away. These are sects of Philosophy, each of which has got hold of a little fragment of truth which it vaunts as its own.

BOOK IV. she bears some rolls of parchment ; in her left a
CH. 12. sceptre.

This is Philosophy, come to reprove and to comfort her downcast disciple. With sublime wrath she dismisses the Muses from the bed-side of the patient, pouring upon them names of infamy, and declaring that they are aggravating the disease which they pretend to heal. Boethius is *her* disciple, nourished on the doctrine of Eleia and the Academy, and by her Muses, not by their Siren voices shall his soul be cured. The Muses venture no reply, but with downcast looks and blushing faces silently depart.

Then Philosophy, sitting on the edge of his bed and looking into his face with sad eyes, sings a song of pity and reproof. 'Alas!' she says, 'for the darkness which comes over the mind of man.

Is this he whose glance roved freely through the heavenly labyrinth, who watched the rosy light of dawn, the changes of the chilly moon, who marked the course of the winds, the return of flowery spring and fruitful autumn, and who knew the reason of all these things? Yet now here he lies, with his mind all bedimmed, with heavy chains upon his neck, casting downward his gloomy countenance, and forced to contemplate only the stolid earth beneath him.'

'The time is come,' she continues, 'for the healing art of the physician. Look fixedly at me, and tell me, dost thou know me?' A deadly lethargy oppresses Boethius, and he makes no reply. Then

she wipes his streaming eyes; the touch of her hand revives him; he gazes earnestly into her face; he recognises his own and oldest friend, his Muse, his teacher, Philosophy. But why has she come to visit him in this his low estate? She assures him that she never leaves her votaries in their distress, and reminds him by the example of Socrates, Anaxagoras, Zeno, and many more, that to be misunderstood, to be hated, to be brought into prison, and even to death itself by the oppressor, is the customary portion of those who love her. She is come to heal him, but, that she may practise her skill, it is needful that he shall show her all his wound. Then Boethius, in a few pages of autobiography, gives that narrative of his fall from the sovereign's favour which has been already put before the reader. The remembrance of all his wrongs, the reflection that even the people condemn him and that his good name is trodden under foot of men, forces from him a cry of anguish, and in a song, well-nigh of rebellion against the Most High, he says, 'O God, wherefore dost thou, who rulest the spheres, let man alone of all thy creatures go upon his wicked way, heedless of thy control?'

Philosophy, with face sadder than before, hears this outburst. 'I knew,' she says, 'when I first saw thee that thou wast an exile from thy home, but how far thou hadst wandered from the City of Truth I knew not till now. Tell me, dost thou believe in an all-wise and all-good Governor of the

BOOK IV. world?' 'I do,' he answered, 'and will never cast
 CH. 12. away this faith.' 'But what is the manner of his governing?' Boethius shakes his head, and cannot understand the question. 'Poor clouded intellect!' says Philosophy to herself. 'Nevertheless his persuasion that there is a righteous Ruler is the one point of hope. From that little spark we will yet reanimate his vital heat. But the cure will need time.'

Book II,
 Fortune
 and her
 gifts.

'I see,' said Philosophy, 'that it is the sudden change of Fortune that has wrought this ruin in thy intellect. But it is of the very essence of Fortune to be ever changing. If she could speak for herself she would say, "All those things which you now mourn the loss of were my possessions, not yours. Far from groaning over their departure, you should be thankful to me for having let you enjoy them so long." Think what extraordinary good fortune you have had in life; friends to protect your boyhood, an honoured father-in-law, a noble wife, a marriage-bed blessed with male offspring. Remember that proud day when you went from your home with a son, a consul, on either side of you, begirt by crowds of senators. Remember your oration in the Senate-house in praise of the King, and the glory won by your eloquence. Remember the shouting multitudes in the circus, who acclaimed your lavish gifts.' 'Ah, but that is the very pity of it,' says Boethius: 'the remembrance of these past delights is the sharpest sting of all my sorrows.' 'Courage!'

replies his heavenly visitor : 'all is not yet lost. BOOK IV.
CH. 12.
Symmachus, that wise and holy man, whose life you would gladly purchase with your own, still lives, and though he groans over your injuries has none to fear for himself. Rusticiana, whose character is the very image of her father's, lives, and her intense sympathy with your suffering is the only thing which I can consent to call a calamity for you. Your sons, the young Consulars, live too, and at every turn reflect the mind either of their father or their grandfather. After all, even in your present low estate there are many who would gladly change with you. Some secret grief or care preys on almost every heart, even of those who seem most prosperous.'

Then the gifts of Fortune are passed rapidly under review. Money, jewels, land, fine raiment, troops of servants, power, fame, are all subjected to that searching analysis, by which at any time for the last 2500 years philosophers have been able to prove their absolute worthlessness, that analysis in spite of which still, after so many centuries, the multitude of men still persist in deeming them of value.

The cure now begins to work in the soul of Boethius, and Philosophy feels that she may apply stronger remedies than the mere palliatives which she has used hitherto. She therefore leads him into a discussion of the *Summum Bonum*, the supreme good, which all men, more or less consciously, are searching after and longing to possess. Book III,
The nature
of the
*Summum
Bonum.*

BOOK IV. There are many things apparently good, which
 CH. 12.
 cannot be this one highest good. Wealth cannot be the Summum Bonum, for it is not self-sufficing. Nor office, since it only brings out in stronger relief the wickedness of bad men; since it confers no honour among alien peoples, and the estimation in which it is held is constantly changing even in the same country¹. Nor can friendship with kings and the great ones of the earth be the Summum Bonum, since those persons themselves lack it. Glory, popularity, noble birth, all are found wanting. The pleasures of the flesh, yea and even family joys, cannot be the Summum Bonum. At this point a certain religious awe comes over the interlocutors. Philosophy sings a hymn of invocation to the Supreme Being, and then leads Boethius up to the conclusion that the Summum Bonum, or Happiness in the highest sense, can be none other than God himself, and that men, in so far as they attain to any real participation therein, are themselves divine. In a somewhat Pantheistic strain, Philosophy argues that all things tend towards God, and that evil, which appears to resist him, is itself only an appearance.

Book IV,
 The Moral
 Govern-
 ment of
 the world.

‘Still,’ cries the prisoner in agony, ‘my difficulty has not really vanished. I see that the bad do

¹ We have here an interesting notice as to the decay of the Prætorship and the Prefectura Annonæ, once offices held in high esteem: ‘Atqui prætura, magna olim potestas, nunc inane nomen est, et senatorii census gravis sarcina. Si quis quondam populi curasset annonam, magnus habetur: nunc ea præfectura quid abjectius!’

prosper here, and the good are often cruelly oppressed. How can I reconcile these facts with the faith, which I will not abandon, that the world has a Just and Almighty Ruler?' Philosophy, one must admit, answers but feebly this eternal question. She repeats the Stoical commonplaces, that the wise man (or the good man) alone is free, alone is strong; that the evil man, though he sit upon a tyrant's throne, is in truth a slave, that liberty to work wickedness is the direst of all punishments, and that if wicked men could only, as it were, through a little chink of light see the real nature of things, they would cry out for the sorest chastisement, for anything to cleanse them from their intolerable corruption. The thought of a world to come in which the wicked, triumphant in this world, shall receive the just reward of their deeds, is somewhat timorously put forward, and does not become, as in the Christian Theodicy, the central point of the reply to the impugner of God's ways¹.

Philosophy is perhaps nearer to grasping the key of the position, when she enters into a long disquisition on the distinction between Providence and Fate². Providence is the supreme, all-ruling,

Providence
and Fate.

¹ 'Et magna quidem, inquit, [sunt] supplicia post defunctum morte corpus: quorum alia poenali acerbitate, *alia vero purgatoria clementia* exerceri puto. Sed nunc de his disserere consilium non est' (iv. 4; p. 102, ed. Peiper). We have here at least one of the sources from which Mediæval Theology derived the name and the doctrine of Purgatory.

² Borrowed from Proclus (see Maurice, *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, ii. 127, iii. 23, ed. 1854-1857).

BOOK IV. all-directing Intelligence, whose ways will be
 CH. 12. manifestly justified in the end: Fate, the instrument in the hand of Providence, more closely resembles what we understand by the Laws of Nature. To Fate belongs that undeviating order, that rigid binding together of Cause and Effect, which produces what to men seems sometimes hardness or even injustice in the ways of their Creator. Philosophy argues, therefore, that every fortune is, in truth, good fortune, since it comes to us by the will of God. The wise man, when he finds that what men call evil fortune is coming upon him, should feel like the warrior who hears the trumpet sound for battle. Now is the day come for him to go forth, and prove, in conflict with adverse Fate, the strength of that armour with which years of philosophic training have endowed him.

Book V,
 Foreknow-
 ledge and
 Free-will.

Rested and strengthened, Boethius now invites his heavenly guest to cheer him with one of those discussions in which of old he delighted, and to explain to him how she reconciles the divine foreknowledge of all future events with the freedom of human actions. God's knowledge of the future cannot be a mere opinion or conjecture: it must be absolute, certain and scientific. Yet, if He thus foresees my actions for this day, they are fixed, and my power of changing them is only apparent. Thus Necessity is introduced, Free-Will goes, and with it Moral Responsibility. It is useless to utter prayer to God, since the order of all things is

already fixed, and we cannot change it. The thought of Divine Grace, touching and moulding the hearts of men, and bringing them into communion with their Maker, goes likewise. All is rigid, mechanical, immutable¹. Philosophy's answer to this question is long and subtil, but in the end brings us nearly to the same conclusion which is probably reached, more or less consciously, by the ordinary Theist of to-day. In all acts of perception, she says, the perceiver himself contributes something from the quality of his own mind: and thus perceptions differ according to the rank held by the perceiver in the intellectual universe. Animals see material things around them, but they do not see in them all that man sees. Where the horse sees only the quartern-measure in which his oats are brought to him, the trained intellect of man sees a circle, roughly representing the ideal circle of mathematics, and is conscious of all the properties inherent in that figure². As our manner of seeing is superior to that of the brutes, so we must train ourselves to think of God's manner of seeing as superior to ours. He can see all future events, both necessary and contingent, and yet not, by seeing them, impart to all the same necessity. Before him, as the Eternal Being, Past, Present and

¹ This passage on Divine Grace (v. 3, p. 129, ed. Peiper) is remarkable, both for its Christian sound, and also because in the Augustinian scheme Divine Grace is the agent which destroys, or seems to destroy, Free-will in Man.

² This precise illustration is not used by Boethius.

BOOK IV. Future lie all outstretched at the same moment¹.
 CH. 12.

He sees all events which have happened and which shall happen, as if now happening; and thus his foreseeing² no more necessitates the actions foreseen than my looking at a man ploughing on yonder hill compels him to plough, or prevents him from ceasing his occupation.

‘And yet, in a certain sense, there is a necessity laid upon men, from the very thought that they are thus doing all in the sight and presence of God: a necessity to lead nobler lives, to avoid vice, to raise their hearts to the true and higher hope, to lift up their humble prayers on high.’

Abrupt
end of the
Consola-
tion of Phi-
losophy.

Here, abruptly, the Consolation of Philosophy ends. We must suppose that when Boethius has reached this point, the step of the brutal gaoler is heard at his dungeon-door, the key turns in the lock, the executioner enters, and the Consolations of Philosophy end with the life of her illustrious disciple.

Style of
the Conso-
lation.

Such is an outline of the argument of the work upon which Boethius employed the enforced leisure of his prison hours. It will at once be seen that it deals with subjects which have ever been of primary interest to the human race. Sometimes

¹ The distinction here drawn out at considerable length between Eternity and mere indefinite prolongation of Time has an important bearing on some recent theological controversies (Phil. Cons. v. 6, pp. 139-141, ed. Peiper).

² ‘Unde non *praevidentia* sed *providentia* potius dicitur, quod porro a rebus infimis constituta quasi ab excelso rerum cacumine cuncta prospiciat.’

the argument reminds us of the book of Job, BOOK IV.
Ch. 12. sometimes of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, sometimes of Pope's 'Essay on Man.' The author's Latin prose is, upon the whole, pure, correct, and intelligible, a delightful contrast to the verbosity of Cassiodorus and the turgid ineptitudes of Ennodius. The snatches of song, in a vast variety of metres, with which the discourse is pleasantly enlivened, show an intimate acquaintance with the tragedies of Seneca, from whom sometimes a poetical phrase, sometimes the central idea of a whole canzonet, is borrowed. The extent of this indebtedness, however, has been sometimes overstated. The poems belong to Boethius himself, though he has written them with the echoes of Seneca's lyre vividly in his ear; and some of the most beautiful thoughts are entirely his own¹.

In the argument of the book Boethius shows Character
of its phi-
losophy. himself, as we should have expected, a persistent eclectic. Though Aristotle is his great master, he draws in this book largely from Plato; and often we come upon passages which remind us of the Stoic doctrines which were the favourite subject of ridicule to Horace.

The religious position of the author has always Religious
position of
Boethius. been a subject of perplexity, and is not less so,

¹ In making this statement I assume that Peiper's apparently very careful 'Index Locorum quos Boetius ex Senecae Tragoediis transtulit' contains the whole sum of these borrowings. To state, as one writer does, that 'the verses are *almost entirely* borrowed from Seneca' is surely unfair to the later poet.

BOOK IV. now that we know that he is the same person who
CH. 12. wrote tractates on subtle points of Christian controversy. He speaks throughout as a Theist, a Theist unshaken and unwavering, notwithstanding all the things that seem to make for Atheism in the world, but hardly as a Christian. There is no hint of opposition to any Christian doctrine; but on the other hand there is no sign of a willingness to accept the special Christian explanation of the central difficulty of the world. Instead of subtle arguments about the nature of the Summum Bonum, or a proof that bad men cannot be said truly to *be* at all and therefore it is idle to trouble ourselves about their prosperity, a Christian martyr would inevitably have turned to the remembrance of the Crucifixion, the mocking soldiery, the cursing Jews, and would have said, at the sorest of his distress, '*He* has suffered more for me.' And the same thought would naturally have comforted any man, who, though not a martyr yet holding the same faith, was assailed by any of the lesser miseries of life, and troubled by seeing the apparent ascendancy of evil. By him who accepts the fact which the Christian witnesses proclaim it may surely be said with boldness, 'The true Theodicy is the Theopathy.' The Son of God suffering for sin, admits the difficulty of the apparent triumph of evil, but suggests an explanation, which Faith leans upon, though Reason cannot put it into words.

Of all this we have in Boethius not a hint.

Perhaps it was precisely because he was something of a scientific theologian, and knew the shoals and currents of that difficult sea in which it was so hard to avoid making shipwreck, one side or another, on the rocks of heresy, that he preferred to sail the wide ocean of abstract Theism. More likely, the feeling of a certain incompatibility between Christianity and polite literature, a feeling which not all the literary eminence of Jerome and Augustine had been able entirely to dispel, a feeling which threw so many of the later historians, Ammianus, Zosimus, Procopius, on the side of heathenism, prevented Boethius from more distinctly alluding than he has done to the Christian solution of his difficulties.

Whatever the cause, the undogmatic character of the 'Consolation' had probably something to do with its marvellous success in the immediately following centuries. The Middle Ages were at hand, that era of wild and apparently aimless struggle between all that is noblest and all that is basest in our common humanity. Many refined and beautiful natures were to go through that strife, to feel the misery of that chaos, in which they were involved. Some, far the larger part, clinging to the religious hope alone as their salvation from the storm, would retire from the evil world around them into the shelter of the convent. But there were some, few perhaps in number in each generation, but many in the course of the centuries, who would elect not to quit the world

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

The undogmatic character of the Consolation perhaps contributed to its popularity.

BOOK IV. but to battle with it, not to fly the evil but to
 CH. 12. overcome it. To such souls the 'Consolation' of
 Boethius sounded like a trumpet-call to the conflict.
 It was not the less welcome, may be, because it did
 not recall the familiar tones of monk and priest.
 The wisdom of all the dead pagan ages was in it,
 and nerved those strong, rather than devout, hearts
 to victory.

Vast influence of the
 Consolation on the
 intellect of
 the Middle
 Ages.

To trace with anything like completeness the
 influence of Boethius on the mind of the Middle
 Ages would require another chapter as long as
 the present. The mere list of editions and trans-
 lations of his works, chiefly of his greatest work,
 in our national library, occupies fifty pages of
 the British Museum Catalogue. Two names, how-
 ever, of his English translators, a king and a
 poet, claim a notice here. King Alfred, prob-
 ably in the years of peace which followed the
 Treaty of Wedmore, found or made leisure to
 interpret the 'Consolation' to his countrymen.
 'Sometimes¹,' as he himself tells us, 'he set word
 by word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as he
 the most plainly and most clearly could explain
 it, for the various and manifold worldly occupa-
 tions which often busied him both in mind and in
 body. The occupations are very difficult to be
 numbered which in his days came upon the
 kingdom which he had undertaken; and yet when
 he had learned this book and turned it from Latin

King
 Alfred's
 transla-
 tion.

¹ I quote from the translation in the 'Jubilee' Edition of the
 works of King Alfred the Great.

into the English language, he afterwards composed it in verse, as it is now done¹. The King then explains to his subjects how 'the Goths made war against the Empire of the Romans, and with their kings, who were called Rhadgast and Alaric, sacked the Roman city and brought to subjection all the kingdom of Italy. Then, after the before-mentioned kings, Theodoric obtained possession of that same kingdom. He was of the race of the Amali, and was a Christian, but persisted in the Arian heresy. He promised to the Romans his friendship, so that they might enjoy their ancient rights. But he very ill performed that promise, and speedily ended with much wickedness ; which was that in addition to other unnumbered crimes, he gave order to slay John the Pope. Then there was a certain consul, that we call *heretoga*², who was named Boethius. He was in book learning and in worldly affairs the most wise. Observing the manifold evil which the King Theodoric did against Christendom and against the Roman Senators, he called to mind the famous and the ancient rights which they had under the Cæsars, their ancient lords. Then began he to enquire and study in himself how he might take the kingdom from the unrighteous King, and bring it under the power of the faithful and righteous men. He therefore privately sent letters to the Cæsar at Constantinople, which is the chief city

BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

¹ King Alfred made both a prose translation and a metrical one.

² Duke (Herzog). Cf. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, i. 591.

BOOK IV. of the Greeks and their king's dwelling-place, because the Cæsar was of the kin of their ancient lords: they prayed him that he would succour them with respect to their Christianity and their ancient rights. When the cruel King Theodoric discovered this, he gave orders to take him to prison and therein lock him up.'

CH. 12.

After this prelude the royal translator proceeds to describe the sorrow of Boethius and the manner in which it was soothed. It is perhaps a concession to the monastic depreciation of women that the heavenly comforter is introduced as a *man* who is called Wisdom (sometimes Wisdom and Reason), instead of the noble matron Philosophy.

Alfred's
misunder-
standing of
Theodoric.

Few men would have had more sympathy with all that was great in Theodoric than Alfred his fellow-Teuton, had he known the true character of the Amal King, and the nature of the task that he had to grapple with. But three centuries of ecclesiastical tradition had produced so distorting an effect on the image reflected, that, as will be seen, the Theodoric whom Alfred beheld, resembled in scarcely a single feature the Theodoric known to his contemporaries. But notwithstanding this blemish, Alfred's translation of Boethius is a marvellous work. Few things seem to bring us so near to the very mind and soul of the founder of England's greatness as these pages, in which (not always understanding his author and sometimes endeavouring to improve upon him) the King

follows the guidance of the philosopher through the mazes of the eternal controversy concerning Fate, Foreknowledge, and Free-will. BOOK IV.
CH. 12.

Travelling over five centuries, we find the illustrious and venerable name of Geoffrey Chaucer among the translators of Boethius. In the note prefixed to the work he says, 'In this book are handled high and hard obscure points, viz. the purveyance of God, the force of Destiny, the Freedom of our Wills, and the infallible Prescience of the Almighty; also that the Contemplation of God himself is our Summum Bonum.' Chaucer's notion of the duty of a translator seems to be stricter than King Alfred's; but it may be doubtful whether he has not presented the book in a less attractive guise than the royal translator. Chaucer's translation (made before 1382).

With the revival of learning in the fifteenth century it was inevitable that the surpassing lustre of the fame of Boethius should suffer some eclipse. When learned men were studying Aristotle and Plato for themselves, the translator and populariser of their philosophies became necessarily a person of diminished importance. Still, however, so fine a scholar as Sir Thomas More cherished the teachings of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, and was cheered by them in the dungeon to which he was consigned by a more tyrannical master than Theodoric¹. Decline in the fame of Boethius.

¹ In Holbein's picture, Sir Thomas More's daughter Margaret is painted with the *Consolation of Philosophy* in her hand. More himself, when in prison, wrote 'A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation,' evidently in imitation of the famous 'Consolation,' but not proceeding on the same lines. Inasmuch as

BOOK IV.
CH. 12. In the following century a Jesuit priest¹, by an imaginary life of Boethius, somewhat revived his fame, and as a statesman who resisted a heretical sovereign to the death, he was held up as a model for the imitation of English and German Catholics.

In later days the writings of Boethius have ceased to live, except for a few curious students. Yet, whoso would understand the thoughts that were working in the noblest minds of mediæval Europe would do well to give a few hours of study to the once world-renowned 'Consolation of Philosophy.'

'the comforts devised by the old Paynim philosophers were insufficient,' More shows how all needful comfort may be derived from the Christian faith. The book, which is really designed to strengthen the English Catholics under the persecution of Henry VIII, professes to be a dialogue between two Hungarians, an uncle and a nephew, as to the best means of strengthening themselves to endure the persecutions of the Turks.

¹ See Note H.

NOTE H. SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE ABOUT
BOETHIUS.

IN Nicholas Caussin's 'Holy Court' (Eng. tr., Lond. 1678) there is a long life of Boethius under the title of 'The Statesman;' the object of the book being to show that even the most conspicuous and brilliant positions in a Court may be held and adorned by Christians¹. NOTE H.

There is not wanting a certain French elegance and charm of style in the book, but the writer, whose information is probably in the main derived from Baronius, draws extravagantly on his imagination. He represents Boethius as chief counsellor of the state of Theodoric, and ventures to set forth in detail the ten great maxims of state which he supplied to his master. He says that Boethius was made Master of the Offices and afterwards 'Superintendent of Offices and Dignities.'

The few hints given in the *Philosophiae Consolatio* as to the enemies and accusers of Boethius are expanded into a circumstantial history in which 'Trigilla, Congiastus and Cyprianus, the principal of the faction of the Goths,' of course play the chief part. In another place we are told that 'that goodly letter addressed to the Emperor of the East was wholly counterfeited by the damnable imposture of one named Cyprian.'

A long speech is put into the mouth of Boethius, who is supposed to have uttered it to Theodoric 'in full Senate.' We have also Theodoric's imaginary reply, which is not quite so lengthy. Both speeches have some cleverness, but an unmistakeable flavour of the seventeenth century, not of the sixth, pervades them. Afterwards we have a speech in which Rusticiana, having implored the media-

¹ Nicholas Caussin was a Jesuit, and for a short time confessor to Louis XIII, till dismissed by Richelieu.

NOTE H. tion of Amalasuntha, makes her petition to the King for her husband's life.

The author does not believe in the story of the cord twisted round the forehead of Boethius till his eyes started out of his head. The chief reason for his disbelief is that 'Martianus, who most eloquently wrote his life, addeth that by miracle he some space of time held up his head in his own hands, like another S. Denis, until he gave up the ghost before the altar of a chapel very near to the place of his execution.'

The whole performance is only the romance of a rather clever Jesuit, who had the necessary volume of Baronius at hand. It seems, however, to have produced some impression on the minds of contemporaries.

There was published (in 1681) 'A Voice from the Dead, or the Speech of an Old Noble Peer, being the excellent oration of the learned and famous Boetius to the Emperour Theodoricus,' which is simply an extract from the 'Holy Court:' also, 'The Life of Boetius recommended to the Author of the Life of Julian' (London, 1683), in which, though the 'Holy Court' is (I think) not mentioned, the facts are evidently all drawn from that book, and applied, controversially, to the defence of the Roman Catholics from their accusers at the time of the Popish Plot. (This is no doubt also the unavowed object of the other pamphlet with its republication of the speech.) The author calls attention to the names of the chief accusers, *Opilio* and *Basilus*, and says that 'the learned Caballists of our age, prying into the Arcana of the Alphabet, often discover strange misteries, even out of the first Letters of an Appellation,'—an evident allusion to Oates and Bedloe. In this singular fashion of twisting history into a party pamphlet, Theodoric the Arian becomes a Protestant, and Odovacar's followers 'the pardoned and lately indemnified Heruli,' are the remains of the Roundhead party, the 'Inveterate Whigs of that Age, who forsooth in outward profession were of the Gothic religion, and could not but

dote on the royal person of Theodoric with a moderate true Protestant zeal and passion.' Cyprian, the clever Referendarius, the learned and trusted Master of the Offices, becomes 'a fellow as villainous in his Pen as Tongue, but whether of the clergy or laity History is silent;' evidently a thrust at the clerical character of the pamphleteer's antagonist, Samuel Johnson, the author of 'Julian the Apostate' ¹.

From the 'Holy Court' (p. 823 of the English edition) I gather the curious fact that Queen Elizabeth 'gave herself to such a vanity of study, that oftentimes she committed some extravagances, as when she undertook to translate the five books of the Consolation of Boetius, to comfort herself on the conversion of Henry the Fourth.'

¹ See Macaulay's 'History of England,' i. 602 (ed. 1866).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ACCESSION OF ATHALARIC.

Authorities.

Sources :—

BOOK IV. THE *Variae* of CASSIODORUS, the *De Bello Gothico* of
CH. 13. PROCOPIUS, and the ANONYMUS VALESII. For Vandal history the *Chronicle* of VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS: for Burgundian that of MARIUS of Aventicum and the *History* of GREGORY OF TOURS.

Remorse of
Theodoric
for the
death of
Symmachus.

THE sun of Theodoric, which for thirty years had shone in mild splendour over the Italian land, set in lurid storm-clouds. Boethius slain, Symmachus slain, Pope John dead in prison, these were the events which every tongue at Rome and Ravenna was discussing with fear, with anger, or with lawless hope ; and assuredly the dying King, though he might say few words concerning them, thought of little else : and all his thoughts about them were bitter. According to a story which was told to Procopius (perhaps by one of the lacqueys of the Court whom he may have met at Ravenna), one day at the banquet a large fish's head was set before Theodoric. To the King's excited fancy, the object in the dish assumed the semblance of the pallid face and hoary head of Symmachus, newly slain. Then, as he thought, the

teeth began to gnaw the lower lip, the eyes rolled askance and shot glances of fury and menace at his murderer. Theodoric, who, if there be any truth in the story at all, was evidently already delirious, was seized with a violent shivering-fit, and hurried to his bed, where the chamberlains could hardly heap clothes enough upon him to restore his warmth. At length he slept, and when he woke he told the whole circumstance to Elpidius his physician, bewailing with many tears his unrighteous deed to Symmachus and Boethius. In this agony of mind, says Procopius, 'he died not long after, this being the first and last act of injustice which he had committed against any of his subjects: and the cause of it was that he had not sufficiently examined into the proofs, before he pronounced judgment upon these men¹.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 13.

His death,
30 Aug.
526.

The ecclesiastical tradition as to the death of Theodoric, preserved for us by the Anonymus Valesii, makes the cause of it dysentery; a form of disease which, ever since the opportune death of the arch-heretic Arius, seemed peculiarly appropriate for heterodox disturbers of the Church. For the secular historian it is enough to remember that Theodoric was now seventy-two years of age and broken-hearted. They may leave him alone, the orthodox Romans, the righteously in-

Ecclesiastical tradition as to his death.

336.

¹ Procopius' testimony to the general character of Theodoric's reign is valuable; but he crowds the events of two years (death of Boethius, 524; death of Theodoric, 526) into a few days; and he seems to be ignorant that it was the Senate which formally condemned Boethius.

BOOK IV. dignant friends of Senator and Pope. For that
 CH. 13. noble heart, Hell itself could scarcely reserve any
 sorer punishment than the consciousness of a life's
 labour wasted by one fierce outbreak of Berserker
 revenge.

Mauso-
 leum of
 Theodoric.

The body of the dead King was laid in the mighty mausoleum which he had built for himself outside the north-eastern corner of Ravenna. There the structure still stands¹, massive if not magnificent, no longer now the Tomb of Theodoric, but the deserted Church of S. Maria della Rotonda². It is built of white marble, and consists of two stories, the lower ten-sided, the upper circular. The whole is crowned with an enormous monolith weighing two hundred tons and brought from the quarries of Istria. It is hard even for the scientific imagination to conjecture the means by which, in the infancy of the engineering art, so huge a mass of stone can have been raised to its place³. In the centre of the upper story of the building stood, in all probability, the porphyry vase which held the body of the great Gothic King. The

¹ See frontispiece.

² The visitor to Ravenna will do well to inquire for *La Rotonda*, the best-known name of the building.

³ There are twelve projections from the surface of the cupola. Reasoning by analogy from the Mausoleum of Hadrian, one would suppose that these once served as bases for statues, perhaps the statues of the Twelve Apostles. But Vandelli (quoted by C. Ricci in his *Guide to Ravenna*, p. 228) thinks that these projections served as handles through which ropes might be slung round the cupola, to haul it up an inclined plane, and to raise it or lower it to its place.

name Gothic must not lead the visitor to expect to see anything of what is technically called Gothic architecture in the building. The whole structure is Roman in spirit; square pilasters, round massive arches, a cupola, somewhat like that of Agrippa's Pantheon. The edifice, however, of which upon the whole it most reminds us is the great Mausoleum of Hadrian, such as it must have appeared in the centuries when it was still an imperial tomb and before it became a Papal fortress¹. And probably this was the example which hovered before the mind of Theodoric, whose work was not undertaken in a spirit of mere vainglory. Believing that he was founding a dynasty which would rule Italy for centuries, he would construct, as Hadrian had constructed, a massive edifice in which might be laid the bones of many generations of his successors.

As it turned out, the great Mausoleum became a Cenotaph. Theodoric himself was buried there, but when Agnellus, three hundred years after his death, wrote the story of the Bishops of Ravenna, it was matter of public notoriety that the tomb had long been empty; and the belief of the chronicler himself was that the royal remains had been cast forth contemptuously out of the Mausoleum, and the porphyry urn in which they were enclosed, a vessel of wonderful workmanship, placed at the door of the neighbouring monastery².

¹ The Castle of S. Angelo.

² These are the words of Agnellus, who, as the reader will

BOOK IV. Why should there have been this mystery about
 CH. II. the disposal of the body of the great Ostrogoth?

Reason for
 the disap-
 penance.

There to is attached a little history, which, if the reader has patience to listen to it, links together in curious fashion the name of the Pope who sent St. Augustine to convert the Saxons, and that of the Pope who in our own day wielded and lost the power of a king both at Rome and at Ravenna.

Gregory's
 Dialogues.
 593-594

To begin with Pope Gregory the Great. In his Dialogues, written sixty-eight years after the death of Theodoric, he informs us¹ that 'a certain Defensor of the Roman Church named Julian married a wife whose grandfather was employed under King Theodoric in the collection of the land-tax in Sicily. This tax-collector was once returning to Italy and touched at the island of

Story
 about The-
 odoric's
 punish-
 ment after
 death.

Lipari, where dwelt a holy hermit to whose prayers he wished to commend himself. The hermit said, "Know ye, that King Theodoric is dead." "God forbid," replied the tax-gatherer and his friends. "We left him in good health and have

remember, is 'supra grammaticam:' 'Theodoricus autem post 34 anno regni sui coepit claudere ecclesias Dei et coartare christianos, et subito ventri fluxus incurrens mortuus est sepultusque est in mausoleum, quod ipse haedificare jussit extra portas Artemetoris, quod usque hodie vocamus Ad Farum, ubi est monasterium sanctae Mariae quod dicitur ad memoria regis Theodorici. Sed, ut mihi videtur, ex sepulcro projectus est, et ipsa urna, ubi jacuit, ex lapide pirfiretico valde mirabilis ante ipsius monasterii aditum posita est. Satis vagatus sum, ivi per diversa, ad nostra revertamur' (p. 304, ed. Holder Egger in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica).

¹ iv. 30.

heard no such tidings." "For all that," said the hermit, "he is dead: for yesterday, at three in the afternoon, I saw him between John the Pope and Symmachus the Patrician. All ungirded and unshod, and with bound hands, he was dragged between them and cast into yon cauldron of Vulcan" [the crater of Lipari]. When they heard it, they carefully noted the day and the hour: and found, on their return to Ravenna, that at that very time Theodoric breathed his last.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 13.

So wrote Pope Gregory. We overleap 1260 years and find ourselves in 1854 in 'the Legation of Ravenna,' which province is sullen and discontented at being replaced under the Papal sway by the arms of Austria after the revolutions of 1848-49. Works of industry, however, are progressing, and at Ravenna a party of 'navvies' are employed excavating a dock between the railway station and the Canale Corsini, one or two hundred yards from the Mausoleum of Theodoric. There are indications that they are on the site of an old cemetery; and the Papal Governor, together with the Municipality, appoints a Commission to watch over the excavation in the interests of archæology: but the Commission, like some other parts of the ecclesiastical government of the Legations, is not likely to be worn out by excess of energy.

Excavations near Ravenna in 1854.

One day rumours are heard of some important discovery made by the workmen and not reported to the Commission. Enquiries are commenced: two

Discovery of a skeleton in golden armour.

The Accession of Athalaric.

BOOK IV. workmen are arrested: by coaxing and threatening, the whole grievous history is elicited from n. A few days previously the navvies had come suddenly upon a skeleton, not in but near the of the tombs. The skeleton was armed with a golden cuirass: a sword was by its side and a golden helmet on its head. In the hilt of the sword and in the helmet large jewels were blazing. The men at once covered up the treasure, and returned at nightfall to dig it up again and to divide the spoil. At the time when the slow-moving Commission set on enquiries on foot the greater part of the booty had already found its way to the melting-pot of the goldsmith or had been sent away out of the country. By keeping the prisoners in custody, their share of the spoil, a few pieces of the cuirass, was recovered from their relatives in the mountains. These pieces, all that remains of the whole magnificent 'find,' are now in the Museum at Ravenna. Great precautions were taken afterwards by the Commission: a trusted representative was always present at the excavations by day; the city police tramped past the diggings at night. But the lost opportunity came not back again: no such second prize revealed itself either to the labourers or the members of the Commission.

The golden
armour has
been as-
signed to
Odovacar,

Now, to whom did all this splendid armour belong in life? and whose heart was once beating within that skeleton? Of course the answer must be conjectural. It was given by the archæologists

of the day in favour of Odovacar; and the bits of the golden cuirass in the Museum at Ravenna are accordingly assigned to him in the Catalogue. But Dr. Ricci, an earnest and learned archæologist of Ravenna, argues¹ with much force that the scene of Odovacar's assassination took place too far from the Rotonda to render this probable, and that there has never been a dweller in Ravenna to whom the skeleton and the armour can with more likelihood be assigned than Theodoric himself².

BOOK IV.
CH. 13.

but more likely belonged to Theodoric.

We may imagine the course of events to be something like this. During the reign of his grandson the body of the great King in its costly armour remains in the royal Mausoleum, guarded perhaps by some of his old comrades-in-arms, or by their sons. Troubles begin to darken round the nation of Theodoric; the Roman population of Ravenna stir uneasily against their Arian lords; monks and hermits begin to manufacture or to imagine such stories as that told to Gregory concerning the soul of the oppressor being cast into the crater of Lipari. The inmates of the monastery of S. Mary, close to the Rotonda, hear and would fain help this growth of legend, so fatal to

¹ See Una Corazza d' Oro, in Note storiche e letterarie di Corrado Ricci: Bologna, 1881.

² Dr. Ricci lays stress on the character of the armour [the adornments of which are similar to those of the 'Treasure of Guarrazar' engraved in Peigné Delacourt's 'Recherches sur le lieu de la Bataille d'Attila'], and especially on the similarity of the *meandro*, the wavy ornament round the border, to a decoration of the cornice of the Tomb of Theodoric.

BOOK IV. the memory of the Ostrogothic King. Suddenly
 CH. 13. the body with its golden cuirass and golden helmet disappears mysteriously from the Mausoleum. No one can explain its vanishing; but the judgment of charity will naturally be that the same divine vengeance which threw the soul of the King down the volcano of Lipari has permitted the powers of darkness to remove his mortal remains. The monks of Santa Maria, if they know anything about the matter, keep their secret; but some dim tradition of the truth causes the cautious Agnellus, writing three centuries after the event, to say, 'as it seems to me he was cast forth from the tomb.' So the matter rests till, thirteen centuries after the deed was done, the pick-axe of a dishonest Italian 'navvy' reveals the bones of Theodoric.

Bitterness
 of the
 Catholic
 Church to-
 wards the
 memory of
 Theodoric.

All this is of course mere conjecture, and is not put before the reader as anything but a somewhat romantic possibility. The bitterness, the undeserved bitterness with which the Catholic Church has taught the Italians to regard the memory of Theodoric, is but too certain a fact, and some curious traces of it remain even to this day. On the western front of the beautiful church of S. Zenone at Verona is a bas-relief¹ representing a king hunting stags, and being himself on the point of capture by a demon with horns and hoofs, who, with a cruel grin on his face, stands waiting for his prey. Some lines underneath² showed that this

¹ Apparently of the twelfth century, perhaps earlier.

² Now I think obliterated.

kingly victim of the evil one was meant for Theodoric. For generations the urchins of Verona have been accustomed to rub the two figures of king and demon, imagining that there is thus obtained a sulphurous smell, which bears witness to their present abode.

From these idle tales of religious rancour we turn to consider the fortunes of the kingdom when bereft of its mighty founder. Shortly before his death Theodoric presented his grandson Athalaric, son of Eutharic and Amalasuntha, to the leaders of the Gothic people, and declared that he was their future king. The declaration was made specially to the Gothic nobles; but in the speech which the old King made on that occasion, and which was listened to as if it were his last will and testament, there was an earnest exhortation to the Goths to show not only loyalty to the new sovereign, but kindly feelings towards the Senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate friendly relations with the Eastern Emperor¹.

The presentation to the Gothic warriors was a sort of recognition of their slumbering right to choose the successor to the throne. But in fact, limited as that choice was to the family of the King, there could be no doubt how it would be exercised

¹ So says Jordanes, whom we have no especial reason for distrusting: 'Convocans Gothos comites gentisque suae primates Athalaricum regem constituit, eisque in mandatis ac si testamentali voce denuntians ut regem colerent Senatum populumque Romanum amarent, principemque orientalem placatum semperque propitium haberent post deum' (cap. lix).

BOOK IV.
CH. 13.

on this occasion. It is true that Athalaric was but ten years old¹, and his nominal kingship necessarily implied a woman's regency. But Amalaric, the only other grandson of Theodoric, though he had now probably attained his majority, must needs dwell in Spain or Narbonnensian Gaul as ruler of his father's Visigoths. The only other male of the Amal line, the late king's nephew Theodahad, was too profoundly hated and despised for any one to press his claims, even against the child-king his cousin.

**Regency of
 Amala-
 suntha.**

Athalaric then succeeded to his grandfather's throne; and the succession of Athalaric meant, as has been said, the rule of Amalasuntha. She was a woman in whom a strength of character almost masculine² was joined to rich gifts of the intellect and a remarkable power of appreciating Roman culture. Her earnest desire was to rule the young kingdom righteously; and had she only been able to carry her Gothic countrymen with her, she might have made for herself one of the noblest names in history. As it was, the deep-seated discordance between her thoughts and theirs revealed itself at length in acts of tyranny on her side and of rebellion on theirs, which caused the ruin of the Gothic monarchy. But of these open dissensions between the Regent and her subjects the time is not yet come to speak.

¹ 'Infantulum adhuc vix decennem,' says Jordanes. Procopius makes him eight years old at his accession.

² Ξυνέσεως μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθοῦσα, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἐς ἥγαν τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐνδεκνυμένη is Procopius' character of her (De Bell. Goth. i. 2).

As the sympathies of Amalasuntha were all on BOOK IV.
the side of Roman literature and civilisation, it is CH. 13.
reasonable to suppose that Cassiodorus, the most Influence
distinguished representative of that rich inheri- of Cassio-
tance, would have great influence in her govern- dorus.
ment. It is possible that he may have directed
her studies while she was still but a princess ;
it is certain that he was the chief minister of
her policy when she was a sovereign. There was
no necessary breach of continuity between the
policy of the father and that of the daughter.
Cassiodorus was the trusted minister of both. But
we can perceive, from the tone of his correspond-
ence, that the anti-Roman turn which had been
given to the policy of Theodoric during his last
three years of suspicion and resentment, was re-
versed, and that something of a new impulse away
from barbarian freedom and towards Roman
absolutism was given to the vessel of the State.

Cassiodorus at the time of the death of Theo- Offices held
doric held the rank of Master of the Offices. How by Cassio-
long he may have retained it we do not know, but dorus.
it is pretty clear from his own statement that his
power and influence at the Court were not strictly
limited by the terms of his official commission.
Other Quæstors were appointed ; Cassiodorus drew
up the letters assigning to them their duties : but
he was himself the one permanent and irremovable
Quæstor, equipped with an inexhaustible supply
of sonorous phrases and philosophical platitudes,
'ready,' as was said of the younger Pitt, 'to speak a

The Accession of Athalaric.

BOOK IV. State-paper off-hand.' After having for eight years, in one capacity or another, guided the counsels of Amalasuntha, he was promoted to the great place of Prætorian Prefect¹, and thus assumed the semblance as well as the form of power. That dignity he appears to have held for four or five stormy years, until his final retirement from public life.

From the official correspondence of Cassiodorus² we infer that some anxiety was felt by the loyal subjects of the Amal dynasty as to the acceptance by the Goths of so young a sovereign as Athalaric. The emphasis with which the minister dwells on the alacrity of the Goths in taking the oath of allegiance implies that Amalasuntha and her friends breathed more freely when that ceremony was accomplished. And the honours and compliments showered on the veteran Tulum, who was introduced to the Senate with the splendid rank of a Patrician, suggest the idea that he was looked upon by some of his old companions in battle as a more fitting occupant of the throne than a lad of ten years old. A mysterious allusion made by the courtly scribe³ to the warrior Gensemund of a by-gone age, 'a man whose praises the whole world sang,' and who apparently might have been king, but preferred to guide the suffrages of his countrymen to the heir of the Amal house, makes this conjecture almost a certainty.

¹ Cass. Var. ix. 24, 25.

² See the first eleven letters of the eighth book.

³ Cass. Var. viii. 9.

One of the first difficulties as to which the advice of Cassiodorus was needed by Amalasuntha arose out of the news which reached her from Africa. A slight allusion was made in the last chapter to the troubles which had fallen on Amalafrida, sister of Theodoric. Her husband Thrasamund, one of the best of the Vandal kings, died in 523, and was succeeded by his cousin the elderly Hilderic. This man, though a son of Huneric, the most rancorous of all the persecutors of the Catholic Church, shared not his father's animosity against the orthodox. It was generally believed that his mother Eudoxia had influenced him in favour of her form of faith; and Thrasamund on his death-bed had exacted from him an oath that he would never use his kingly power for the restoration of their churches to the Catholics. The oath was given; but Hilderic, who could say with Euripides' hero

BOOK IV.
CH. 13.

Troubles
with the
Vandals.

Accession
of Hilderic.

‘My lips have sworn, my mind unsworn remains,’

devised a clever scheme for escaping from its obligation. The promise had been that he would not use *his kingly power* for the forbidden purposes. Therefore after Thrasamund's death, but before Hilderic had put on the Vandal crown or been proclaimed king in the streets of Carthage, he issued his orders for the return of all the Catholic bishops from exile; he opened the churches, which for more than two generations had never echoed to the words ‘being of one substance with the Father;’ and he made Boniface, a

Hilderic
favours the
Catholics.

BOOK IV. strenuous asserter of orthodoxy, bishop of the
 CH. 13. African Church¹.

Opposition
 of the
 Queen
 Dowager,
 Amala-
 frida.

Hilderic's entire reversal of the policy of his predecessor brought him speedily into collision with that predecessor's widow. The stately and somewhat imperious Amalafrida, who had been probably for twenty years Queen of the Vandals, was not going tamely to submit to see all her husband's friends driven away and his whole system of government subverted. She headed a party of revolt; she called in the assistance of the Moors, ever restless and ever willing to make war upon the actual ruler of Carthage; and battle was joined at Capsa, about three hundred miles to the south of the capital, on the edge of the Libyan desert. Amalafrida's party were beaten, and she herself was taken captive. So long as her brother

Defeat of
 her party.

Her cap-
 tivity and
 death,
 526 or 527.

Theodoric lived she was kept a close prisoner. Now that the great head of the Amal line was laid low, the Vandal king had the meanness and the cruelty to put his venerable prisoner to death.

Angry
 messages
 between
 Ravenna
 and Car-
 thage.

The insult was keenly felt at the Court of Ravenna, and produced a fatal alienation between the two kingdoms. A letter of angry complaint was written by Cassiodorus², and ambassadors were sent to demand an explanation. No satisfactory explanation could be given; for the story which Hilderic endeavoured to circulate, that Amalafrida's death was natural, seems to have borne falsehood upon its face. What followed we are not

¹ Victor Tunnunensis, s. a. 523.

² Var. ix. 1.

able to say. Probably there was a threat of war, BOOK IV.
 replied to by menaces of reprisal from the still CH. 13.
 powerful Vandal fleet against the Italian coast. Threats of war.
 At least we know of no other opportunity to
 which we can so suitably refer Cassiodorus' own
 account of his services to the kingdom at a time
 when it was threatened by foreign invasion¹.
 'When the care of our shores,' he makes his Services of Cassio-
 young sovereign say, 'occupied our royal medita-
 tions, he [Cassiodorus] suddenly emerged from the
 seclusion of his cabinet, and boldly, like his an-
 cestors, assumed the character of a general. He
 maintained the Gothic warriors at his own charges,
 preventing the impoverishment of our exchequer
 on the one hand, and the oppression of the Pro-
 vincials on the other. When the work of victualling
 the ships was over, and the war was laid aside, he
 again distinguished himself as an administrator by
 his peaceful settlement of the various suits which
 had grown out of the sudden termination of the
 contracts for the commissariat.'

We seem to read in this passage of a threatened Hostilities collapse.
 Vandal invasion of Bruttii and Lucania, of Cassio-
 dorus' preparations for defending his native pro-
 vince, and of the sudden collapse of hostilities about
 which neither nation was really in earnest. It was
 not from the Ostrogothic nation that the impending
 ruin of the dynasty of Gaiseric was to proceed².

¹ Var. ix. 25.

² In the early years of the new reign some operations were undertaken against the Gepidæ which were viewed with great

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BOOK IV.

Ch. 18.

534-

443-

Five years after these events another of the Arian and Teutonic monarchies of Europe received its death-blow. The reader may remember that, after the defeat and captivity of Sigismund, his brother Godomar raised from the dust the torn banner of the Burgundians, and maintained the independence of his native land against the Frankish invaders. Now Godomar's turn also was come. Chlotochar and Childebart again entered the land. They besieged Autun. Godomar, after one or perhaps two campaigns, took to flight. Theudibert, the remaining brother of the Frankish partnership, was persuaded to forget his relationship to the family of Sigismund when the invasion seemed likely to prove successful. In the year 534 the kingdom of Burgundy, which had lasted for all but a hundred years since its settlement in Savoy, was finally swallowed up in the vast nebulous mass of the Frankish monarchy, Theudibert, Chlotochar, and Childebart dividing the spoils between them¹.

dissatisfaction by the Emperor, but did not at the time lead to any actual rupture between the two states. This information we get from Cassiodorus (*Variae*, xi. 1), and it is confirmed by Justinian's complaint (hereafter to be noticed) as to the sack of Gratiana. From the same letter we infer that war was all but actually declared between the Goths and the Franks in the year 526, but that, owing to the death of Theodoric, the two nations resolved to remain at peace.

¹ The materials for the history of the Frankish conquest of Burgundy are scanty and contradictory. The account given above is substantially that of Jahn (*Geschichte der Burgundionen*, ii. 68-78), and not very different from that of Binding (270-271).

This is all that needs to be said about the affairs of Western Europe during the reign of Athalaric.

BOOK IV.
CH. 13.

With the Papacy the relations of the Gothic monarchy seem to have been outwardly amicable. The 'martyred' John was succeeded by Felix III ; he by Boniface II, a man of Gothic extraction ; and he by another John, the second of the name. There is nothing in the short reigns of these pontiffs, at peace with Constantinople and outwardly at peace with Ravenna, which need occupy our attention.

Death of John I, 25 May, 526.
Felix III, 12 July, 526, to 18 Sept. 530.
Boniface II, 21 Sept. 530, to 17 Oct. 532.
John II, 1 Jan. 533, to 27 May, 535¹.

Only, the election of the first of the series, Felix III, should be noticed, since it seems to have been ordered by the dying Theodoric and confirmed by his grandson. This we learn from a letter² addressed by Cassiodorus to the Roman Senate. There had evidently been at least the threat of a contested election, but the minister, speaking in the name of Athalaric, exhorts all parties to forget the bitterness of the past debate. He thinks that the beaten party may yield without humiliation, since it is the King's power which has helped the winning side. The letter suggests the idea of a contest, the decision of which has been voluntarily referred to Theodoric, and the whole tone of it is extremely difficult to reconcile with any story of the death of Pope John I which represents him as a martyr, wilfully allowed by a persecuting king to perish in a dungeon. Had this been the version

¹ The dates of accession and death of each pontiff are taken from Clinton's *Fasti Romani*.

² Var. viii. 15.

BOOK IV. of the story generally accepted at Rome, it is hard
 CH. 13.
 ————— to believe that in a very few months the relations
 between King and Pope would have been so
 friendly as we find them in this letter ¹.

From this short sketch it will be seen that few
 events of great importance occurred in Italy during
 526-534. the eight years of the reign of Athalaric. Con-
 stantinople, not Ravenna, was now once more the
 place to which the chief action of the great drama
 was transferred, and already all Roman souls were
 aflame with the reports of the splendour, the
 reforms, and the victories of Justinian.

¹ I cannot find in this nomination by Theodoric anything so extraordinary as Baronius (vii. 116), and, following him, Bower (ii. 320) and Milman (i. 326) have done. All these writers look upon the nomination as an important enlargement of the royal prerogative in connexion with the choice of the Pope, and one which was meant to form a lasting precedent: and from their various points of view they praise it or blame it accordingly. To me it looks like the reference of *one* disputed election to the king, and therefore nothing more than was undoubtedly done at the time of the contest between Symmachus and Laurentius.

CHAPTER XIV.

JUSTINIAN.

Authorities.

Sources :—

PROCOPIUS: JOANNES LYDUS, a civil-service clerk of Constantinople from 511 to 552, whose treatise *De Magistratibus* gives us valuable information as to the internal affairs of the Empire: the *CHRONICON PASCHALE* (or *ALEXANDRINUM*), the last entry in which belongs to the year 628, in the reign of Heraclius: JOANNES MALALAS, a writer possibly earlier than the last-mentioned, but whose date, not yet accurately determined, may be placed anywhere between 600 and 800: THEOPHANES (758–816).

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

It will be seen from this list that, though we begin with contemporaries, we come down to historians separated by a considerable interval from the accession of Justinian. Any one, however, who examines minutely the account given by all the above authorities of such an event as the Nika-riot at Constantinople will see that their stories, though full of animation and variety, are in no important respect discordant; and will feel that probably the very latest of them had access to some valuable contemporary memoirs which have since perished.

In quoting PROCOPIUS, I refer not only to his standard work, *De Bellis*, but also to the *Anecdota* or *Historia Arcana*. The fact that this is really the work of Procopius is, I think, now established almost beyond the possibility of doubt, especially by Dahn in his '*Prokopius von Cäsarea*.' But the book is pervaded by passionate, almost insane hatred of Justinian, Theodora, and their favourites; and we ought perhaps hardly to consider any fact as proved

Justinian.

BOOK IV. which depends on the *Anecdota* alone. The proper course seems to be to consult it, as we might consult the *Letters of Junius* for information as to the reign of George III., but to accept its statements with all possible caution and to abandon them at once whenever they are found to clash with any dispassionate historical authority.

There is one frequently quoted authority which I have thought it best not to cite. This is the so-called '*Life of Justinian*' by Theophilus, of which Alemannus has made considerable use in his notes to the *Anecdota* of Procopius. On this authority rest the usual statements as to the barbarian names of Justinian and his parents (Uprauda, Istok, Biglenitza), the story of his hostage-ship at the Court of Theodoric, and some other particulars of his life. The brilliant discovery of this '*Life*' by Theophilus, which was made by Mr. Bryce in the library of the Barberini Palace at Rome, clears up what has long been a mystery as to the source from whence Alemannus drew his information. It does not, however, enhance the value of the document itself, which seems to be a somewhat late mediæval romance compiled from Slavonic sources. While awaiting Mr. Bryce's publication of the document and critical estimate of its value, I prefer in the mean time to draw my information from sources of more undoubted authority.

Guides :—

I cannot touch even the outskirts of the forest of literature that has grown up around the name of Justinian. My guides have been Gibbon, never more worthy of his fame than in the five chapters which he devotes to the reign of the great legislator; the two articles by Mr. Bryce in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Roby's '*Introduction to the study of Justinian's Digest*' and Moyle's *Edition of the Institutes* are strongly recommended to the student.

SOME time after his accession to the Empire, the elderly Anastasius was troubled with a restless

curiosity to know who should be his successor. BOOK IV. CH. 14.
 He had three nephews, Hypatius son of one of his sisters, and the brothers Probus and Pompeius, Omen as to the successor of Anastasius.
 who were possibly children of his brother. Inviting them one day to dine with him at the palace, he caused three couches to be spread upon which his nephews might take their siesta. Under the pillow of one of the couches he had secretly slipped a paper with the word *REGNUM* written upon it. 'Whichsoever of my nephews,' thought he, 'chooses that couch, he shall reign after me.' Unfortunately when the time for the noontide slumber came, Hypatius chose one couch, the two brothers in their love for one another chose to occupy the second together, and the pillow that had 'regnum' beneath it was left undimpled. Then Anastasius knew that none of his nephews should wear the diadem after him¹.

It was not one of the three delicately nurtured princes, but a man who had begun life in very different fashion, who was to be clothed with the out-worn purple of Anastasius. Early life of Justin. In the reign of Leo, three young peasants from the central highlands of Macedonia, tired of the constant struggle for existence in their poverty-stricken homes, strode down the valley of the Axios (*Vardar*) to Thessalonica, determined to better their lot by taking service in the army. They had each a sheep-skin wallet over his shoulder, in which was stored a sufficient supply of home-baked

¹ This curious story is told us by the Anonymus Valesii.

BOOK IV. biscuit to last them till they reached the capital:

CH. 14.

no other possessions had they in the world. Being tall and handsome young men, Zimarchus, Ditybistus, and Justin—so the peasant-lads were named—had no difficulty in entering the army: nay, they soon found places in the ranks of the guards of the palace, an almost certain avenue to yet higher promotion. Once indeed Justin had a narrow escape from death. For some offence—probably against military discipline—which he had committed, he was ordered into arrest and condemned to death by his captain John the Hunchback¹, under whose orders he had been sent upon the Isaurian campaign. But a figure of majestic size appeared to the Hunchback in his dreams and threatened him with sore punishment if he did not release the prisoner, who was fated to do good service to the Church in days to come. After this vision had been seen for three successive nights, the general thought it must be from above and dismissed Justin unharmed².

Destined
successor
of Anastasius.

Now, in the aged Emperor's perplexity, when with fasting and prayer he had besought from Heaven an indication as to who should be his successor, it was revealed to him that the destined one was he who should be first announced to him in the sacred bed-chamber on the morrow morning. The first person to arrive was Justin, who had now attained the high rank of Count of the

¹ Consul in 499.

² Procopius, *Anecdota*, 6.

Guardsmen¹; come to report the execution of some orders given to him on the previous night. The aged Emperor bowed his head and recognised his destined successor. So firmly was this belief implanted in his mind that when, at some great ceremonial in the palace, Justin, eager to set right some mistake in the procession in front of the Emperor, brushed too hastily past him and trod upon the skirts of the purple mantle, the Emperor uttered no hasty word, but mildly said, 'Why such haste?' which men understood to mean, 'Canst thou not wait till thy turn comes to wear it? It will come before long.'

These are the legendary half-poetical adornments of the prosaic story which was told in a previous chapter, concerning the elevation of the orthodox Justin, by means of the misappropriated gold of Amantius, on the death of the Monophysite Anastasius. Whatever the precise chain of causes and effects which brought it to pass, the result was that an elderly Macedonian peasant², unable to read or write, but strictly orthodox as regards the subtle controversy between Leo and Eutyches, was seated on the throne of the Eastern Cæsars. The difficulty arising from the presence of an unlettered emperor on the throne was evaded by making a wooden tablet containing the needful perforations through which the imperial scribe

¹ Comes Excubitorum.

² Justin was born in 452, and was therefore two years older than Theodoric.

BOOK IV. drawing his pen dipped in purple ink might trace
 CH. 14. the first four letters of his name¹. Proclus, the Quæstor, composed his speeches and acted as his prompter on all state-occasions. Upon the whole, the elderly Emperor, good-tempered, clownish, and of tall stature, seems to have played this last scene in his strangely varied life without discredit, if also without any brilliant success.

His
 nephew,
 Justinian,
 the real
 ruler.

It was seen, however, in the negotiations with the Roman See as to the close of the schism, and it became more and more visible to all men as time went on, that the real wielder of all power in the new administration was the Emperor's sister's son JUSTINIAN. More than thirty years of age² at his uncle's accession, and having, probably through that uncle's influence, already filled some post in the civil service of the Empire; a man always eager for work and a lover of the details

¹ This is Procopius' account of the matter: 'In order that the documents which required the imperial signature might exhibit it, the following contrivance was adopted. In a little piece of wood was carved the shape of four letters of the Latin alphabet [IVST]. This tablet was placed on the document: a pen dipped in the [purple] ink which the Emperors are wont to use was put in his hand, and then the assistants taking the Emperor's hand and guiding it so as to make the pen travel round through all the perforations of the tablet, thus at length produced an imperial signature at the foot of the document.' I suspect, as has been before stated, that this is the origin of the similar story as to Theodoric's signature.

² Mr. Bryce considers 483 the most probable date for the birth of Justinian. He would thus be thirty-five at Justin's accession (Dict. of Christian Biography: Justinian).

of administration; such a nephew was an invaluable assistant to the rustic soldier who had to preside over the highly cultured and polished staff of officials through whom he must seem to govern the Empire.

The influence of Proclus the Quæstor gradually paled before that of the all-powerful nephew, whose servant he willingly became. A more formidable rival was the stout soldier Vitalian, who had upheld the standard of orthodoxy in the evil days of Anastasius, and whose restoration to office was an indispensable part of the reconciliation with the See of Rome. He probably looked for the reversion of the imperial dignity after the death of its aged possessor, and when he found himself raised to the rank of *Magister Militum* and created Consul (for the year 520), he might almost seem set forth to the people as Emperor Elect. To prevent any such mistake for the future, Justinian, or some one of his friends, caused him, in the seventh month of his consulship, to be attacked in the palace by a band of assassins. He fell, pierced by sixteen wounds: his henchmen, Paulus and Celerianus, fell with him, and the triumph of the party of Justinian was secure¹.

In the correspondence with Rome, Justinian

¹ Marcellinus Comes mentions the murder but does not ascribe it to Justinian; Victor Tunnunensis says that it was attributed to the faction of Justinian the Patrician. Procopius, who is mistaken as to the time of its occurrence, ascribes it to Justinian after he had become Emperor.

BOOK IV. had called Vitalian 'his most glorious brother¹,'
 CH. 14. and the fact that the two men had solemnly partaken together of the Holy Communion² should, according to the feelings of the age, have secured for the Master of the Soldiery an especial immunity from all murderous thoughts in the heart of his younger rival. The dark deed was not in accordance with the general character of Justinian, who showed himself in the course of his reign averse to taking the lives even of declared enemies: but there seems little reason to doubt that in this case he at least sanctioned, if he did not directly instigate, the murder of a dangerous competitor.

Justinian
 Consul,
 521.

In the following year Justinian celebrated his own consulship with a splendour to which, under the reign of the frugal Anastasius, the Byzantine populace had long been strangers. A sum of 280,000 solidi (£168,000) was spent on the machinery for the shows or distributed as largesse to the people. Twenty lions, thirty panthers, and a multitude of other beasts, appeared at the same time in the Amphitheatre. Horses in great numbers, and equipped in magnificent trappings, were driven by the most highly skilled charioteers of the Empire round the Circus. Already, however, even in the midst of the general rejoicing a note of discord was struck between the future Emperor and his subjects. So great was the

¹ 'Frater noster gloriosissimus Vitalianus' (Epist. ad Hormisdam, ap. Migne, lxiii. 476).

² Procopius, *Anecdota*, 6.

excitement of the people, raised no doubt by the victory of one or other of the rival factions in the Circus, that the Consul found it necessary to strike out of the programme the last race which should have been exhibited¹.

A successor thus announced to the people before-hand was almost certain of the diadem. In fact Justinian was associated in the Empire four months before the death of his uncle, and appears to have succeeded to sole and supreme power without difficulty.

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

Associated
in the Em-
pire.

Justinian
Emperor,
1 April,
527.

Delivered by the death of Justin from one associate in the Empire, Justinian lost no time in providing himself with another, of a kind such as Augustus would indeed have marvelled to behold using his name and wielding his decorously veiled supremacy.

Death of
Justin,
1 Aug. 527.

During the reign of Anastasius a certain Acacius, who had charge of the wild beasts of the Amphitheatre for the Green party, died², and, as he had saved nothing out of his small salary, his widow and three daughters were left nearly destitute. The widow became the wife or the paramour of another menagerie-keeper, for whom she tried to retain her

Early his-
tory of
Theodora.

¹ Marcellinus Comes gives us these particulars: 'Numerosos praeterea phaleratosque in Circo caballos, jam donatis quoque impertivis aurigis, una duntaxat ultimaque mappa insanienti populo denegata.' The *mappa* is the cloth that was dropped as a signal for starting the racers. I do not understand the 'donatis quoque impertivis aurigis.'

² We learn from this and similar statements that the factions of the Circus had a common purse and a common organization of their own.

BOOK IV. late husband's situation. But though the three
 CH. 14. little girls, Comito, Theodora, and Anastasia, appeared like sacrificial victims with fillets on their heads, and stretched out their little hands beseechingly to the spectators, the Greens, who were entirely guided by their manager Asterius, took away the place from their stepfather and gave it to another man. The Blues, the rival faction, were more accommodating, and having lately lost their keeper by death, gave his post to the husband of the widow of Acacius. In one of those little fillet-crowned heads was born on that day an undying resentment against the Green party, and an undying attachment to the Blue.

Her character.

The child Theodora grew up into a lovely woman, rather too short of stature, but with a delicate red-and-white complexion, and with brilliant quickly-glancing eyes, which told of the keen, restless, nimble intellect within. She evidently had something of the charm which belongs to a clever and beautiful Frenchwoman. Unfortunately, however, she was utterly destitute of womanly virtue or womanly shame. The least moral performer of the opera bouffe in Paris or Vienna is a chaste matron by comparison with the life of unutterable degradation which Theodora is said to have led in girlhood and early womanhood, as a prostitute and a dancer on the stage at Cyrene, at Alexandria, and throughout the cities of the East.

Justinian falls in love with her.

Returned to Constantinople, this bright and fascinating though abandoned woman kindled an

irrepressible passion in the breast of the decorous and middle-aged student Justinian. His aunt Lupicina, who had taken the more stately name of Euphemia, and who had been first the slave and then the wedded wife of Justin, firmly and, for the time, successfully opposed his scheme of marrying Theodora. Though lowly born herself, she would not consent that her husband's heir should be the instrument by which the unspeakable degradation of hailing such a woman as Augusta should be inflicted on the Roman Empire. Before long, however, the Empress Euphemia died, and then Justinian, whose passion had but grown stronger by delay, at once married the daughter of the menagerie-keeper. Laws which had come down from the old days of the Republic, forbidding the union of a Senator with a woman of notoriously bad character, were abrogated by the feeble old Emperor on the imperious request of his nephew. Theodora was raised to the dignity of a Patrician, and when at length Justinian wore the imperial diadem he insisted on sharing it with her, not as Empress-Consort, to borrow the terms of a later day, but as Empress-Regnant must Theodora sit upon the throne of the Roman world. All ranks in Church and State crouched low before the omnipotent prostitute. The people, who had once acclaimed her indecent dances on the stage, now greeted her name with shouts of loyal veneration, and with outspread hands implored her protection as if she were divine. The clergy grovelled before her,

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

Their
marriage.

Theodora
Augusta.

BOOK IV. calling her Mistress and Sovereign Lady, and not
 CH. 14. one Christian priest with honest indignation protested against this degrading adulation.

Her insatiable pride.

Raised to the throne of the world, Theodora assumed a demeanour in some degree corresponding to her elevation. Though not absolutely faithful to her husband, she disgraced his choice by no such acts of open licentiousness as those by which Messalina had insulted the Emperor Claudius. It would seem as if her own nature underwent a change, and as if Pride now took possession of the character which hitherto had been swayed only by Lust. Heartless she had always been, in the midst of her wild riot of debauchery; and heartless she remained in the stupendous egotism which made Justinian and all the ranks of the well-ordered hierarchy of the Empire the ministers of her insatiable pride.

Contrast between her character and Justinian's.

In all things it seems to have been her fancy to play a part unlike that of her husband. He was strictly orthodox and Chalcedonian, she was a vehement Monophysite. He was simple and frugal in his personal habits, however extravagant as a ruler; she carried the luxury of the bath and the banquet to the highest point to which an opulent Roman could attain. He seldom slept more than four hours out of the twenty-four; she prolonged her siesta till sunset and her night's sleep till long after sunrise. He was merciful by temperament; she delighted in the power of being cruel. He showed himself easy of access to all his

subjects, and would often hold long and confidential conversations with persons of undistinguished rank; she surrounded herself with an atmosphere of unapproachable magnificence, and while rigorously insisting that her subjects should present themselves in her audience-chamber, made the ceremony of audience as short, as contemptuous, and as galling to every feeling of self-respect as it was possible to make it. A pitiable sight it was to see the consuls, the senators, the captains and high functionaries of that which still called itself the Roman Republic waiting, a servile crowd, in this harlot's ante-chamber. The room was small and stifling, but they dared not be absent. Her long slumbers ended, and the ceremonies of the bath and the toilette accomplished, an eunuch would open the door of the hall of audience. The wretched nobles pressed forward, or, if behind, stood on tip-toe to attract the menial's notice. He singled out one and another with contemptuous patronage. The favoured one crept in behind the eunuch into the presence-chamber, his heart in his mouth for fear. He prostrated himself before the haughty Augusta; he kissed reverently the feet which he had once seen briskly moving in lascivious dance on the public stage; he looked up with awe, not daring to speak till spoken to by the supreme disposer of all men's lives and fortunes. Such is the miserable picture presented to us by Procopius of the degradation of the great Roman commonwealth under its Byzantine rulers. Alas,

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.Theodora's
audiences.

BOOK IV. for the day when the Senate, that assembly of
 CH. 14. kings, received with majestic gravity the over-awed ambassador of King Pyrrhus! Alas, for the selfish corruption of the *optimates*, and yet more for the misguided patriotism of a Caius Gracchus or a Livius Drusus, which had turned the old and noble Republic into an Empire, foul itself and breeding foulness!

Justinian's
 conscientious
 labour for
 the State.

Let it be said for Justinian, who had brought this shame upon the State, that he gave his days and nights freely to what he deemed to be its service. If he was insatiable in drawing all power into his own hand, he at least shrank not from the labour, even the drudgery, which the position of a conscientious autocrat involves. Especially, at the very beginning of his reign, did he devote himself to that which his experience as a high officer of state under his uncle had shown him to be necessary, the reform of the laws of the Empire. Speaking without technical precision, one may say that the jurisprudence of Rome at this period consisted, like our own, of two great divisions, Statute Law and Case Law. The Statutes as contained in the Theodosian Code were insufficient, and the Cases contained in the *Responsa Prudentum*, the Institutions and the Sentences of great jurists such as Gaius, Paullus, and Ulpian, were redundant, bewildering, and often contradictory. Before Justinian had been a year on the throne he had appointed a commission, consisting of nine officials of high rank, to inquire into and codify the Statute

Law re-
 form.

13 Feb.
 528.

Law. The leading spirit in this Commission and the chief mover in all the legal reforms of Justinian was the far-famed Tribonian, who was raised successively to the dignities of Quæstor and Master of the Offices; a man whose love of money and far from spotless integrity could not avail to dim the splendour of a reputation acquired by his vast learning, and made bearable by his gentle courtesy to all with whom he came in contact.

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.
Codex.

After little more than a year of labour the Commissioners had completed the first part of their duties, and the Code of Justinian in twelve books was issued by the sovereign authority, expanding and superseding the Code of Theodosius and all previous collections of imperial rescripts.

Code published
7 April,
529, repealed and
republished 16
Nov. 534.

The next piece of work was a harder one. Tribonian and his fellow Commissioners were directed to arrange in one systematic treatise, called the *Digest*¹, all that Roman lawyers of eminence had said concerning the principles of the law, as the varying circumstances of civil society had brought point after point under their attention. In fact their duty was similar to that which would be laid upon an English lawyer if he was called upon to codify the 'judge-made law' of England, incorporating with it all that is of importance and authority in the text-books, and where there is a conflict of opinion deciding which opinion is to prevail. This immense work, which 'condensed the wisdom of nearly two thousand treatises into

Digest or
Pandects.

¹ Otherwise the Pandects.

BOOK IV. fifty books, and recast three million "verses" from
 CH. 14. the older writers into one hundred and fifty
 Commission for the thousand¹, was accomplished in three years by
 Digest, Tribonian and his colleagues. Work done in such
 15 Dec. fierce haste as this could hardly be all accurate,
 530. but probably no injustice which it could cause was
 Publication of the so great as that which it removed by letting day-
 Digest, light into the thick jungle of those three millions
 16 Dec. of legal sentences.
 533.

The Digest, which was divided into fifty books, is not arranged in any scientific order, but follows apparently more or less closely the order of that which had for centuries been the great programme of Roman jurisprudence, the so-called Perpetual Edict of the Prætors.

The In-
 stitutes.

The Code and the Digest being finished, Tribonian and his two most eminent colleagues were directed to prepare a short scientific treatise on the amended law of Rome, for the benefit of students. Thus came into being the Four Books of the *Institutes*², that book by which the fame of Justinian has been most widely spread over the civilised world in the two hemispheres. The far-reaching relations in time of such a book as this are vividly apprehended when we remember that as it rests on the treatise of Gaius—which Niebuhr discovered in palimpsest in the Cathedral Library of Verona—it is itself rested upon by our own eighteenth

Publica-
 tion of the
 Institutes,
 21 Dec.
 533.

¹ Justinian's Constitution 'Tanta' (Cod. i. 17. 2).

² More properly, Institutions. The text of the Proœmium calls them *Institutiones*.

century Blackstone, who of course had the name and the arrangement of this book in his mind when he composed his *Institutes of English Law*. Justinian's name and titles head the majestic manual. Of course Tribonian and the two professors, his colleagues, are really responsible for the literary execution of the work. Still, the historical student is never so well disposed to take a lenient view of the faults of the great Emperor as when he finds Cæsar Flavius Justinianus, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Vandalicus, and so forth, crowned with names of victory over many barbarous races, but cheering the young student to the commencement of his task, and promising not to encumber his mind at first with details, lest he should disgust him at the outset, and cause him to abandon his studies in despair.

Notwithstanding his attempt to put the stamp of finality on his two great works, the Code and the Digest, neither Justinian himself nor his indefatigable Quæstor could keep their hands from all further law-making. The *Novellæ Constitutiones*, generally spoken of under a title which has since acquired such a strangely different meaning, that of *Novels*, were promulgated at intervals for nearly thirty years, and in some respects seriously altered the unalterable Code.

Except for some over-activity in issuing fresh laws after the publication of his Code, the fame of Justinian as a legislator is unassailable. The hour had come for clearing broad and traversable high-

BOOK IV. ways through the stately but sky-hiding forest of
 CH. 14. Roman jurisprudence. With Tribonian for his
 engineer-in-chief, Justinian undertook this necessary work, and did it nobly. Rightly and justly therefore is the name of the peasant's son from the valley of the Vardar mentioned with reverence, wherever, from the Mississippi to the Ganges, teachers of the law expound the greatest of Rome's legacies to the nations, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

He was not
 so great as
 an administrator.

But it is a trite axiom in politics and in everyday life, that good legislation does not necessarily imply good administration. Many a man whose journal records the most excellent maxims for the conduct of his life, has been a torment to his family and friends. Many a public company, with admirably-framed Articles of Association, has chosen the pleasant road to an early bankruptcy.

Many an Oriental state has proclaimed, and is proclaiming at the present day, the most excellent principles of government, not one of which it ever dreams of reducing into practice.

As an administrator Justinian does not occupy nearly so high a position as that to which his legislative triumphs entitle him. He certainly had one of the most necessary qualifications for a ruler, the power of selecting fitting instruments for his work. The man who chose Tribonian for his legal adviser, Belisarius and Narses for his generals, the designers of Saint Sophia for his architects, can assuredly have been no mean judge of human character. He had also the power of forming

truly grand conceptions, and is superior herein to two monarchs, with each of whom some points in his character tempt us to compare him—Louis XIV of France and Philip II of Spain. These merits, however, were more than counterbalanced by two great faults—intense egotism and financial extravagance. Coming as he did from the lower ranks of society to the administration of an old and highly-organized state, he was determined to leave his mark on every city of the Empire, on every department of the State. Some changes, like those involved in the codification of the Roman law, required to be made, and here the imperial egotist's passion for change worked well for the State. But besides this, many old and useful institutions were swept away, simply in order that the name of Justinian might be magnified. Local self-government received from him some of its severest blows. The postal service¹, one of the best legacies from the great days of the Empire, he allowed to be ruined by greedy and shortsighted ministers, who sold the post-horses and divided the proceeds between their master and themselves. The venerable institution of the consulship, which still linked the fortunes of New Rome with the dim remembrance of the republican virtues of Brutus and Publicola, must be swept away. The schools of philosophy at Athens, touched certainly with the feebleness of age, but still showing an unbroken descent from Socrates, and deserving to be spared, if only for

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

His egotistic innovations.

¹ Cursus publicus.

BOOK IV. the sake of their late illustrious pupil Boethius,
 CH. 14. were closed by imperial decree, and the seven last Platonists were driven forth into exile, obtaining at length by the intercession of the King of Persia permission to exist, but no longer to teach, in that which had once been the mother city of all philosophy.

His extravagance.

The mania of the empurpled Nihilist for destroying every institution which could not show cause for its existence by ministering to the imperial vanity, would have been less disastrous if it had not been coupled with an utter indifference to expense. Whatever dispute there may be as to other parts of the character of Justinian, there can be none as to his having been one of the worst of the many bad financiers who wore the diadem of the Cæsars.

In reading the two histories in which Procopius records the vast operations of this monarch, both in peace and war¹, we are inclined to ask, 'Did the question once in his whole reign occur to the mind of Justinian, whether he was justified in spending the money of his subjects on this campaign which he meditated, or on that palace or basilica for which the architect had furnished him with plans?' Certainly the results of his financial administration speak for themselves:—the carefully and wisely hoarded treasure of Anastasius all spent, the very wars themselves starved, and in some cases protracted to three or four times their necessary length by the emptiness of the exchequer,

¹ The 'De Aedificiis' and 'De Bellis.'

and the people of his realms left at Justinian's death in a state of exhaustion and misery greater, if that be possible, than the subjects of Louis XIV of France after that monarch's seventy years' quest of 'glory.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

The treasure of Anastasius had perhaps been melting away during the nine years of the reign of Justin. During this time the war with Persia was begun, a war about which something will be said in the following chapter. Before Justinian had been five years on the throne the financial oppression of his subjects, particularly in the country districts, was becoming intolerable. Owing to changes in the mode of collecting the land-revenue and the abolition of the *cursus publicus*, the inhabitants were impoverished by the oppressive rights of pre-emption¹ claimed by the government, and worn out with forced labour² in moving produce from the interior of the country to the sea. Women with babes at their breasts were forced to take part in this cruel task and often did they, their husbands, and brothers lie dead by the road-side, where they were left unburied³. There was no time for funeral rites; the Emperor's corn must be delivered in so many days at the sea-port, where, without fail, some venal officer or some slave of one of the palace slaves

War with
Persia,
524-531.

Early indications of
financial
pressure.

Forced
labour.

¹ Συμωγή.

² Angaria, nearly equivalent to the French *corvée*.

³ Joannes Lydus, de Magistratibus, p. 264 (ed. Bonn), from whom most of the details here given are drawn.

BOOK IV. stood ready to take his tithe of the tithes collected
 CH. 14. at the cost of so much agony.

New taxes. The very names of the new taxes imposed on various pretexts, about twenty in number, were terrible to the bewildered people¹. And this was what they had earned by those delirious shouts of joy which hailed the accession of Justin and the death of Anastasius, the tender-hearted Anastasius, who with such infinite trouble had rooted out one obnoxious tax, the Chrysargyron, in the room of which Justinian had planted a score.

The peasants flock into the cities.

Despairing of earning a subsistence in the country, the dispirited peasantry flocked into the towns, above all into the capital city. In Constantinople there was at least food to be had, for the corn-rations were still distributed to the people; and in Constantinople there was the delicious excitement for an absolutely idle populace, of the races in the Hippodrome. We have already made some little acquaintance with the contending colours of these circus-factions. Once four in number, they had now, by the disuse or obscurity of the Red and the White, become practically reduced to two, the Blue and the Green².

Factions of the circus.

¹ Here are those preserved by Lydus, but evidently much mutilated by uncomprehending copyists:—*censualia*, *holographica*, *bouleutica*, *homodula*, *homocensa*, *aphantica*, *encataleimmena*, *politica*, *tamiaca*, *deputata*, *recolata*, *refusa*, *cerastismi*, *ropae*, *paralla(x)a*, *topi*, *endomantica*, *metatorica*.... *ellephoros* *apaiteisis*.

² Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 51) seems to speak of all four colours as still used: '*Colores autem in vicem temporum quadrifaria divisione funduntur.*'

And such was the excitement produced among the BOOK IV.
favourers of these two colours, by the victory or CH. 14.
defeat of their respective champions, that the contemporary Byzantine historian can call it nothing less than a madness, a curse, and a disease of the soul. They would pour out their money; they would expose themselves to blows and the most contemptuous insults, yea, even to death itself; they would rush into the thickest of a fray, well knowing that in a few minutes the city-guards would be upon them, and would drag them off to the dungeon and to death. All this they heeded not if only the Blues might take their revenge on the bodies of their antagonists for the victory of a Green charioteer, if only the Greens might pay off a long score of insults by breaking the heads of a mob of presumptuous Blues. Murder was of course the frequent consequence of these faction-fights; and it was perhaps not always murder in hot blood, but sometimes secret and premeditated. Even women, though not allowed to visit the theatre, were bitten with the madness of the strife; and brothers, friends, the companions of a life-time were turned into irreconcilable enemies by these absolutely senseless quarrels. Certainly of all the strange exhibitions of his character which Man has given since he first appeared upon our planet, few have been more unutterably absurd than the fights of Blues and Greens in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

It was evident, soon after his accession, that the

BOOK IV. husband of Theodora meant to favour the Blue
 CH. 14.

Justinian
 favours the
 Blues.

Scene in
 the Hip-
 podrome,
 13 Jan.
 532.

party, and in a few years, a long list of grievances was recorded in the hearts of the opposite faction against him. Such was the state of feeling in the multitude—the Blues jubilant with imperial favour, the Greens sore at heart and indignant against their oppressor, a multitude of the country-folk, having not as yet taken sides definitely with either colour, but remembering and cursing the tyrannical acts which had driven them from their immemorial homes—when on the morning of the Ides of January, 532¹, the august Emperor took his seat in the *podium* and commanded the races to begin. Race after race, till twenty-two races had been run, was disturbed by the clamours of the angry Green faction. Their fury was chiefly directed against the Grand Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard, Calopodius², to whom they attributed their ill-treatment. At length Justinian, worried out of his usual self-control, began to argue with the interrupters; and so the following extraordinary debate took place, in shrill shouts to and from the Imperial *podium*.

The Green party. ‘Many years mayest thou live,

¹ Marcellinus Comes and Malalas.

² Calopodius had been, under Anastasius, a favourer of the Monophysites, and therefore probably of the Green party. He was accused of having stolen from under the altar of the Great Church the written covenant by which Anastasius bound himself to Macedonius to keep inviolate the decrees of Chalcedon (Theophanes, s. a. 512; p. 133, ed. Paris). But no doubt with the change of sovereigns he had changed his colour and his creed.

Justinianus Augustus. *Tu vincas*¹. O only good one, I² am oppressed. God knows it, but I dare not mention the oppressor's name lest I suffer for it.'

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

532.
Dialogue
between
the Em-
peror and
the Green
party.

The Emperor's answer to the people came back from the lips of a stalwart *Mandator* who stood beside his throne, while a busy short-hand writer (*Exceptor*) at once began to take down all the words of this strange dialogue, that they might be enrolled in the official *Acta* of the Empire.

Mandator. 'Whom you mean, I know not.'

The Greens. 'O thrice August one, he who oppresses me will be found at the shoemakers' shops³.'

Mandator. 'I know not whom you are speaking of.'

The Greens. 'Calopodius the Guardsman oppresses me, O Lord of all.'

Mandator. 'Calopodius has no public charge.'

The Greens. 'Whatever he may be, he will suffer the fate of Judas. God will reward him according to his works.'

Mandator. 'Did you come hither to see the games, or only to rail at your rulers?'

¹ 'Mayest thou conquer.' This conventional acclamation to the sovereign was still uttered in Latin, though written down in Greek characters, τοῦ βίγκας.

² The dialogue shifts from the singular number to the plural with strange abruptness, but I have thought it better not to remove these blemishes.

³ Τα τζαγγαρία, rendered by the Latin translator 'ad sutorias officinas'; apparently some taunt at the low origin of Calopodius, or perhaps a pun on his name ('the fine-footed one').

BOOK IV. *The Greens.* 'If any one oppresses me, I hope
 Ch. 14. he will die like Judas.'

532. *Mandator.* 'Hold your peace, ye Jews¹, ye Manicheans, ye Samaritans.'

The Greens. 'Do you call us Jews and Samaritans? We all invoke the Virgin, the Mother of God.'

Some sentences of scarcely intelligible religious abuse between the two parties to the dialogue follow. Then says the Mandator—'In truth, if you are not quiet I will cut off your heads.'

The Greens. 'Be not enraged at the cry of the afflicted. God himself bears all patiently. [How can I appeal to you in your palace?] I cannot venture thither, scarcely even into the city except by one street when I am riding on my mule².'

Mandator. 'Every one can move freely about in this city, without danger.'

The Greens. 'You talk of freedom, but I do not find that I can get it. Let a man be ever so free, if he is suspected of being a Green, he is taken and beaten in public.'

Mandator. 'Gallows-birds! have you no care for your own lives, that you thus speak?'

The Greens. 'Take off that colour [the emblem of the Blues] and do not let justice seem to take sides. . . . I wish Sabbatius [the father of Justinian] had never been born. Then would he never have

¹ A play on the words. The Greens hope that Justinian may die like *Judas*. He thereupon calls them *Judaei*.

² The translation is very doubtful here. *Μίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν προέρχομαι, ὅτ' ἂν εἰς βορδόνην (?) καθίζομαι.*

begotten a murderous son. It is twenty years BOOK IV.
since [one of our party] was murdered at the CH. 14.
Yoking-place¹. In the morning he was looking on 532.
at the games, and in the evening twilight, O Lord
of all, he had his throat cut.'

The Blues here interposed with angry denial.
'All the murders on the race-course have been
committed by you alone.'

The Greens. 'Sometimes you murder and run
away.'

The Blues. 'You murder and throw everything
into confusion. All the murders on the race-course
are your work alone.'

The Greens. 'Lord Justinian! They stir us up
to strife, but no one kills them. Remember, even
if you do not wish to do so, who slew the wood-
seller at the Yoking-place, O Emperor!'

Mandator. 'You slew him.'

The Greens. 'Who slew the son of Epagathus,
O Emperor?'

Mandator. 'Him too you slew, and then tried
to throw the blame on the Blues.'

The Greens. 'Again! and again! Lord have
mercy on us! Truth is trodden under foot by a
tyrant. I should like to throw these things in the
teeth of those who say that God governs the
world. Whence then this villainy?'

Mandator. 'God cannot be tempted with evil.'

¹ Zeugma. According to the commentator this was a suburb
of Constantinople, where the mules were unyoked that brought
the body of St. Stephen to the capital.

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

532.

The Greens. "God cannot be tempted with evil." Then who is it that allows me to be oppressed? Let any one, whether Philosopher or Hermit, read me this riddle.'

Mandator. 'Blasphemers and accursed ones! when will ye be quiet?'

The Greens. 'If your Majesty will fawn upon that party, I hold my peace, though unwillingly. O Thrice August one, I know all, all: but I am silent. Farewell, Justice: you have no more business here. I shall depart hence, and then I will turn Jew. It is better to become a Heathen than a Blue, God knows!'

The Blues. 'We hate the very sight of you. Your petty spite exasperates us.'

The Greens. 'Dig up the bones of the [murdered] spectators.'

With that the whole faction of the Greens streamed out of the Hippodrome, leaving the Emperor and the Blue party sole occupants of the long rows of stone *subsellia*².

¹ Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἑλληνίσαι συμφέρει καὶ μὴ Βενετίσαι, ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν.

² The dialogue between Justinian and the Greens, which Gibbon truly calls one of the most singular that ever passed between a prince and his subjects, is reported in full only by Theophanes. As he is a late authority (ninth century) and often inaccurate, the authenticity of the dialogue has been questioned. But he appears to be quoting from the official *Acta*, the first few lines of which are given in nearly the same words by the Paschal Chronicle (circa 630). The very obscurity of some of the sentences seems to show that Theophanes was transcribing some document which he only imperfectly understood: and it is equally difficult to imagine what motive he

The day was drawing towards a close when this multitude of enraged Orientals poured forth into the streets of Constantinople. Soon it was evident that the tumults which had embittered the later days of Anastasius were to be renewed, on a larger scale, and with more appalling circumstances, by reason of the crowds of hungry, idle, and exasperated rustics who had flocked into the town. Fire began to be applied to the buildings round the Hippodrome, and to the porticoes of the Palace in which the household troops were lodged. All through the earlier stages of the sedition Justinian kept quiet in his palace, with the nobles who had assembled there according to custom on the Ides of January, to offer their congratulations and to receive from his hands the tokens of their various promotions for the new year¹. Probably his expectation was, that the insurrection, if unopposed, would wear itself out ; or that, at the worst, the fury of the attacked Blues would check the fury of the attacking Greens.

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.532.
Commence-
ment of in-
surrection.Fire-
raising.

Soon, however, an ominous symptom appeared. The Blues began to sympathise with the Greens, and to join in the wild orgie in which their rivals were engaged. In a recent attempt to deal out

The Blues
and Greens
fraternise.

could have had for inventing a dialogue so full of insults against the honoured name of Justinian, and from what spurious source, if so desirous, he could have obtained so many touches characteristic of the times.

¹ I combine the statement of Malalas (p. 474, ed. Bonn) with that of Procopius (i. 24, vol. i. p. 121 same edition), and with the fact that Hypatius and Pompeius were at the Palace.

BOOK IV. even-handed justice between the two factions, the
 CH. 14. Prefect of the City had arrested seven notorious
 532. murderers, chosen indifferently from both parties. Four had been sentenced to death by beheading, three by hanging. The sword had done its work surely, but the gallows had broken under the weight of their victims, and two of the culprits, one a Blue, the other a Green, had thus escaped for a time the sentence of the law. The good monks of the neighbouring monastery of St. Conon had found them not quite dead, had put them on board ship, and had carried them to the church of St. Lawrence. The Prefect of the City insisted that the law should have its due, but popular sympathy was aroused on behalf of the wretches who had so narrowly escaped death. A common interest in the safety of their friends seems to have brought the two factions, hating one another with such deadly hatred, into momentary accord. As the old watch-words of party were suddenly become obsolete, they invented new ones. Not the loyal cry, 'August Justinian, may you conquer!' but 'Long live the friendly Greens and Blues!' was to be the battle-shout of the united factions, and 'Nika' (Victory) their secret pass-word.

The insurrection becomes political.

With this reconciliation of the Circus-factions the sedition assumed a more important and a political character. The name of the chambèrlain Calopodius drops out of the story, and those of the Quæstor Tribonian, of the Prætorian Prefect, John of

¹ Φιλανθρώπων Πρασίνων καὶ Βενέτων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη (Malalas).

Cappadocia, begin to be heard. Tribonian, with all his matchless knowledge of the law, was suspected, perhaps justly suspected, of sometimes framing the new laws so as to suit the convenience of those litigants who approached him with the heaviest purse in their hands. John of Cappadocia was undoubtedly a man absolutely devoid of principle, coarse, unlettered, vicious, but one whose dæmonic force of will and whose relentless heart were all put at the disposal of his master for the purpose of wringing the maximum of taxes out of a fainting and exhausted people.

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

532.
Cries
against
Tribonian
and John
of Cappa-
docia.

When the cry for the removal of these ministers came, Justinian at once yielded to it, and replaced them by men who stood higher in favour with the people. But still the riot went on. The futile endeavours of the soldiers to cope with it only increased its fury ; and, sure mark that all the lowest and most lawless elements of society had broken loose, Fire was the favourite weapon in the combat. The Senate-house, the Palace of the Prætorian Prefect, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Baths of Alexander, were all burnt. At last, either because the mob had grown wild and desperate with destruction, or because the wind which had sprung up respected not the distinctions which they would have made, the sacred buildings themselves were given to the devouring flame. The great church of Saint Sophia, and its neighbour the church of Saint Irene, fell in blackened ruin. Between these two edifices, the dwellings of Divine Wisdom and

General
conflagra-
tion.

BOOK IV. Peace, the charity of a devout man of earlier time¹,
 CH. 14. Sampson by name, had reared a hospital² for the
 532. reception of the sick and aged poor. This noble illustration of the spirit of Christianity shared the fate of its statelier neighbours, and, alas for the madness of the populace, all the sick folk who were lying in the wards of the hospital perished in the flames.

Thus for five days raged the demon Fire through the streets of Constantinople³. Through the short January day thick clouds of smoke rolled round basilica and portico. At night two red and flaring lines mirrored themselves in the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. The ineffectual efforts of the soldiers to suppress the riot did but increase the mischief. The Octagon⁴ was set fire to by them in their endeavours to expel the rebels, and the flames thus kindled consumed the church of St. Theodore and the vestry adjoining it.

Still for some time the insurrection lacked an

¹ Procopius de Aedificiis, i. 2.

² Ξενών, ἀνθρώποις ἀνεμένοις ἀπορουμένοις τε καὶ νοσοῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα εἰ πρὸς τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσοῦν (Procopius, ubi supra). Is not this one of the earliest instances of the establishment of a hospital?

³ It would be interesting to have the comments of an expert in the archæology of Constantinople on the lists of buildings burnt in the Nika, especially those of Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicle. As far as I can ascertain from the materials before me, the fire seems not to have reached Byzantium proper (at the end of the promontory), but to have raged chiefly in the valley between this district and the second hill westward, on that hill itself, and to have reached perhaps into the third valley.

⁴ This was probably a public library: see Ducange, Constantinopolis Christiana, ii. 152.

aim and a leader. Justinian was despised, but no name was suggested instead of his. On the first or second day, it is true, the rioters marched to the house of Probus (no doubt the nephew of Anastasius and brother of Pompeius), searched the house for arms, and shouted as they searched, 'Probus for Emperor of Romania!' but not succeeding in their quest, nor prevailing on Probus to accept the offered diadem, they cast fire into his house and added it to the general destruction.

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

532.
The rebels
are without
a leader.

Probus will
not accept
the diadem.

On Sunday, the fifth day of the insurrection¹, Justinian sought to propitiate the mob by following the example of Anastasius and making an appeal to their compassion. Taking his place in the seat of honour in the Circus, he held on high the roll of the Holy Gospels. The populace streamed once more into the Hippodrome, to hear what their sovereign would say to them. Laying his hand on the sacred books, he swore a solemn oath: 'By this power I swear that I forgive you all your offences, and will order the arrest of none of you, if only you will now return to your obedience. The blame is none of yours, but all mine. For the punishment of my sins I did not grant your requests when first you addressed me in this place.' The humiliation was as great as that of Anastasius, but not so efficacious in dis-

18 Jan.
532.
Justinian
appeals in
vain to
the com-
passion of
the mob.

¹ Combining Procopius and the Paschal Chronicle, I reckon that the insurrection actually commenced on the 14th of January (Wednesday), and that the proclamation of Hypatius and Pompeius occurred on the morning of the 19th.

BOOK IV. arming the fury of the mob. Some shouted 'Justiniane Auguste, tu vincas!' but many were silent, and there was even heard the insulting cry, 'O ass, thou art swearing falsely'!¹

He returns
to the
palace.

and orders
the
nephews
of Ana-
stasius to
leave it.

With his dignity ruffled and his easy temper disturbed Justinian returned to the palace. There, apparently, all the nobles who had assembled on the Ides of January were still mustered, not having dared to return to their homes through the raging populace. The Emperor's eye fell on Hypatius and Pompeius, the nephews of Anastasius, and in an angry voice he ordered them to leave the palace. Procopius doubts whether to refer this strange order to suspicion of a conspiracy on their part, or to the influence of a mysterious destiny. The humbler theory, that it was due to mere ill-temper and annoyance, may perhaps be deserving of consideration. The two cousins naturally suggested that it was unfair to throw them at such a critical moment in the very path of conspirators and rebels; but Justinian insisted, and forth they went, slinking under cover of the twilight to their homes.

19 Jan.
532.

The popu-
lace pro-
claim
Hypatius
Emperor.

Next day, when the news of their departure from the palace was noised abroad, the whole multitude flocked to the house of Hypatius, intent on proclaiming him Emperor. In the campaign against Vitalian, eighteen years before², Hypatius had

¹ Ἐπιτορκεῖς, στυγνὰ. Ducange (in his note on the Paschal Chronicle) suggests γάδρε, and translates as above.

² See p. 461.

held the highest command, and the course of events seems to have pointed him out as, upon the whole, the most eminent of the nephews of Anastasius.

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

532.

When the multitude announced their intention of proclaiming Hypatius in the Forum, his wife Mary, a woman of great ability and noble character, with tears and cries besought them not to lead her husband to certain death. Hypatius also earnestly pleaded that he had no desire for the dangerous honour. But the people were inexorable. Mary's entwining arms were thrust aside, and Hypatius was borne by the shouting multitude to the Forum of Constantine, where he appears to have been soon after joined by his cousin Pompeius. As no diadem was at hand, a collar of gold was placed on the head of Hypatius. He was raised high up on the steps of the statue of Constantine, clothed in the white *chlamys* which was to mark his military rank, and all the vast multitude shouted with one accord, 'Hypatie Auguste, tu vincas!'

There was a discussion among the adherents of the new Emperor whether they should at once march to the palace of Justinian and grapple with their foe. Had they done so, Justinian would probably have been faintly remembered in history as a sovereign who made some attempt to reform the Roman laws and perished in a tumult after a reign of five years. And in truth this was the view which he himself was prepared to take of the chances for and against him. In a council held in the palace his voice apparently was for flight by

BOOK IV. the sea-gate, outside of which his ships were
 CH. 14. moored. But then was heard the manly voice
 532. of Theodora, insisting on resistance to the death.
 "Will in place
 sti- ' When man has once come into the world, death
 sooner or later is his inevitable doom. But
 as for living, a royal fugitive, that is an intole-
 rable thought. Never may I exist without this
 purple robe ; never may the day dawn on me in
 which the voices of all who meet me shall not
 salute me as Sovereign Lady¹. If then, O Em-
 peror, you wish to escape, there is no difficulty in
 the matter. Here is the sea : there are the ships.
 It just consider whether, when you have escaped,
 you will not every day wish that you were dead.
 For my part, I favour that ancient saying, " There
 is no grander sepulchre for any man than the
 Kingship." "

Operations
 of Belisa-
 rius and
 Narses.

The stirring words of Theodora prevailed. Belisarius, a young officer who had acquired great renown in the Persian war, was commissioned to attack with his small but disciplined body of troops the vast mob of Constantinople ; and at the same time a middle-aged Armenian named Narses, an eunuch who had attained the rank of Grand Chamberlain in the imperial household, stole out of the palace with a heavy purse of money in his hand, to persuade and bribe the leaders of the Blue faction back to their old allegiance.

While this council was resolving on resistance

¹ Μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενοίμην τῆς ἀλουργίδος ταύτης χωρίς, μὴδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην βιβῶν, ἐν ᾗ με δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες οὐ προσερούσιν.

to the uttermost, that of Hypatius resolved on BOOK IV.
procrastination. The advice of a Senator named CH. 14.
Origen had determined them to leave the palace of 532.
Justinian unattacked, trusting that its occupant Delibera-
would soon be a fugitive, and to make for the old tions of the
palace, which still bore the name of Flaccilla, the friends of
wife of Theodosius. On their way to this building Hypatius.
the whole multitude halted for a time in the Hippo-
drome. Hypatius, who was still a most unwilling Message of
claimant of the purple, at this juncture sent one of Hypatius
the noble guard¹ named Ephraemius to Justinian to Justi-
with this message: 'Thy enemies are all assem- nian.
bled in the Circus; thou canst do with them what
thou wilt.' Unfortunately Ephraemius met the
Emperor's physician and confidant Thomas, who
had heard of the rumoured flight, but had not
heard of the later resolution to defend the palace.
'Whither are you going?' said Thomas to the
glittering Candidatus: 'there is no one in the
palace; Justinian has fled.' This message, brought
to Hypatius, seemed to show that there was
nothing for him but to reign; and he accordingly
accepted the situation, mounted to the *podium*,
and probably harangued the Roman people as-
sembled in the Circus as their lawful Imperator.

Better had it been for Hypatius to be crouching, Belisarius
as he crouched eighteen years before, by the attacks the
Scythian shore, up to his neck in the water and multitude
only his head showing, 'like a sea-bird's,' above in the Hip-
the waves. He was in less danger then from the podrome.

¹ Candidati.

every citizen was to escape from the Hippodrome, a desire impossible of fulfilment; for, lo! at the same moment Mundus, another of Justinian's generals, hearing the uproar and rightly divining the manœuvre of Belisarius, pressed in to the Circus by another gate, called, as if in prophecy, the Gate of the Dead. The two generals did their bloody work relentlessly, so that no civilian, either citizen of Constantinople or stranger, either partisan of the Blues or the Greens¹, who chanced that day to be in the Hippodrome, left it alive.

It was estimated that 35,000² persons fell in this tumult. Justinian announced his victory as if it had been won over some foreign foe, in exulting letters to all the great cities of his Empire. The triumph was won by ruthless disregard of human life, by an utter refusal to attempt to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty: but it was not a wholly barren one for the State. After this terrible lesson, it was long before the populace of Constantinople attempted to renew the disturbances which had disgraced the later years of Anastasius.

Hypatius and his cousin Pompeius were dragged out of the imperial box in the Circus and brought into the presence of Justinian. They fell prostrate before him, and began to sue for pardon on the plea that it was by their persuasion that the enemies of Justinian had been collected in the

BOOK IV.
CH. 14.

532.

The massacre in the Hippodrome.

Fate of Hypatius and Pompeius.

¹ So says Theophanes (p. 158).

² Joannes Lydus says 50,000.

BOOK IV.

CH. 14.

532.

Hippodrome. 'That was well done,' said the Emperor (who had not yet heard of the message sent by Hypatius), 'but if the multitude were so willing to obey your orders, could you not have done it before half the city was burnt down?' He ordered them away to close confinement, upon which Pompeius, a man with whom all things till then had gone smoothly, began with tears and groans to bewail his hard fate. The more rugged Hypatius sharply rebuked him: 'Courage, my cousin: do not thus demean thyself. We perish as innocent men: for we could not resist the pressure of the people, and it was out of no ill-will to the Emperor that we went into the Hippodrome.'

On the following day they were slain by the soldiers, their goods were confiscated, and their bodies were cast into the sea. After a few days, however, Justinian relented towards them, having heard the true story of the message of Hypatius. Thomas, the doctor who had so ill served the interests of his august patient, was ordered to be beheaded. The property of the two unfortunate Patricians was restored to their relatives, and commands were issued for the burial of their bodies. Only that of Hypatius, however, could be recovered from the keeping of the Bosphorus, and over this when buried, Justinian, with all his clemency, could not deny himself the pleasure of carving an insulting epitaph¹.

¹ 'Here lies the Emperor of Luppia.' The insult is too subtle to reach the ears of posterity.

The blackened heaps representing the stately BOOK IV.
buildings of Constantinople reminded a spectator CH. 14.
who saw them of the masses of lava and cinders
surrounding the cones of Vesuvius and Lipari.
Soon however, by the command of the Emperor,
troops of workmen were busily engaged in clearing
away the rubbish and laying the foundations of
new churches, baths, and porticoes. Thus was
employment found for the ruined provincials who
still swarmed in the city : and before long a new
and fairer Constantinople rose from the ruins of
the old¹.

So ended the celebrated sedition of the Nika.
Its chief interest for us is that it brings us face to
face with two men who gathered great fame in
Italy, Belisarius and Narses.

¹ The astronomer will be interested in reading the account
of a meteoric shower which occurred in the year of the Nika
sedition (532). Theophanes says : 'The same year there was a
great running of the stars (ἀστέρων γέγονε δρόμος πολὺς) from
evening till dawn, so that all were struck with amazement and
said, "The stars are falling:" nor do we know of such a thing
having ever happened at any other time.'

CHAPTER XV.

BELISARIUS.

Authorities.

Sources:—

PROCOPIUS and MALALAS.

Guides:—

BOOK IV. For a complete analysis of the character of Procopius, literary and political, and for a careful estimate of his position in reference both to Justinian and Belisarius, I must refer my readers to Dahn's 'Prokopius von Cäsarea.' In the history of the Persian War I have been helped by Rawlinson's 'Seventh Oriental Monarchy,' in that of the Vandal campaign by Papencordt's 'Geschichte der Vandalen.' Lord Mahon's 'Life of Belisarius,' though occasionally helpful, is upon the whole a disappointing performance.

War between the
Empire and Persia,
526-532.

THE peace between the Roman and the Persian Empires which was concluded in 505, after lasting for twenty-one years, was broken upon a strange cause of quarrel. The Persian king, Kobad, now far advanced in years, in order to secure the succession to the throne for his favourite son Chosroes, proposed to the Emperor Justin that that monarch should adopt him as his son. Justin was prepared to assent, but, listening to the dissuasions of the Quæstor Proclus, who feared that Chosroes might

found on such an adoption a claim to the Roman as well as the Persian diadem, he eventually refused this act of courtesy. There were already some grievances against the Romans rankling in the mind of Kobad. They would not pay their promised quota towards the defence of the passes of the Caucasus from the Northern barbarians. They had built, contrary to agreement, the strong city of Daras close to the Persian frontier, almost overlooking the lost and bitterly-lamented city of Nisibis¹. When tidings came that the Macedonian peasant who called himself Augustus would not recognise the descendant of so many kings as his son, or would at most only confer upon him that military adoption as 'son-in-arms' which was a compliment paid to Gepid and Ostrogoth princes, the old monarch of Ctesiphon was furious. He must have war with Rome; and war accordingly was waged by him and his son after him, for five years, among the Mesopotamian highlands and on the fertile plains of Syria.

With the details of this war we have no concern except in so far as they are connected with the entrance upon the stage of history of the young hero-general, Belisarius. Born about the year 505, probably of noble parentage, in the same Macedonian mountain-country² from which Justin and his

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
526.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 507.

² I believe our only hint as to the birthplace of Belisarius is in the *De Bello Vandalico* of Procopius (i. 11): "Ὁρμητο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἢ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξύ κεῖται. 'Between the Thracians and Illyrians' exactly describes Jus-

BOOK IV. nephew had descended to Thessalonica, Belisarius
 CH. 15. was serving in the body-guard of Justinian, and
 526. had the first manly down upon his lip¹ when, in the
 year 526, he and another officer of his own age
 were entrusted with the command of the troops
 which were to invade the Persian (or Eastern)
 portion of Armenia. Fields were laid waste and
 many hapless Armenians were carried into cap-
 tivity, but no successes in battle were earned by
 the young generals.

Belisarius
 command-
 ant of
 Daras,
 527.

Soon after, Belisarius was made commandant of
 the newly-erected fort and city of Daras: and
 while in this command he made a selection which
 has had more to do with his subsequent renown
 than many victories. He chose 'Procopius of
 Cæsarea who compiled this history' to be his
 Judge-Advocate². The office which I attempt to
 indicate by this suggested English equivalent was
 known among the Romans by names which we
 have borrowed from them, those of Counsellor and
 Assessor³. For a Roman general like Belisarius,
 exercising by virtue of his office judicial power
 over civil as well as military persons, but having
 received himself no legal education, it was abso-
 lutian's native land of Dardania. But I cannot help thinking
 that 'Germania' is due to some error of transcribers. Can the
 true name be *Graniriana*, which, I know not on what autho-
 rity, appears in our classical atlases about twelve miles north
 of Naissus, at the site of the modern Alexinatz?

Nature of
 his office.

¹ Ὑψηλότης.

² Τότε δὲ αὐτοῦ ξύμβουλος ἤρεθῃ Προκόπιος, ὃς τὰδε ἐυνέγραψε.

³ Consiliarius and Assessor: in Greek, ξύμβουλος and πάρ-
 εδρος.

lutely necessary to have a trained jurist ever by his side, who might so guide his decisions that they should be conformable to the laws of the Empire. Occasions would also often arise in connection with the diplomatic duties that Belisarius had to discharge towards the rulers of the lands invaded by him, in which the presence of a learned Byzantine official would be of great assistance to a comparatively unlettered soldier. Such an adviser, legal assessor and diplomatic counsellor, was Procopius : not the general's private secretary, but, it may be said, in a certain sense, his official colleague, though in a very subordinate capacity.

Whether Procopius held precisely this relation to Belisarius during all the fifteen years that they were campaigning together, in Mesopotamia, in Africa and in Italy, it is difficult to say. It is slightly more probable that the official tie may have been sundered, and that the learned civilian may have remained on as a visitor and trusted friend in the tent of his chief, by whom he was occasionally employed on semi-military enterprises which required especial tact and exercise of the diplomatic faculty. It seems clear that, during all the period above mentioned, something more than official relations existed between the two men ; that the counsellor loved and admired the general, and that the general respected and liked the counsellor. We shall have hereafter to trace, or if we cannot trace, to conjecture, the disastrous influences by which a friendship so honourable to both

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.

His fifteen
years of
intimacy
with the
general,
527-542.

that he can as to a land like Thulë (Iceland or the North of Norway) lying within the Arctic Circle, and only regrets that, though earnestly desirous of the journey, he has never been able to visit that land in person and be an eye-witness of its wonders¹.

In politics Procopius shows himself an ardent lover of the glory of the great Roman Empire, which he feels himself still thoroughly a citizen. In his most important work (the *De Bellis*) he preserves a truly dignified tone towards the Emperor, whose great achievements he praises without servility: but he often contrives to introduce in the speech of a foreign ambassador or the letter of a hostile king some tolerably severe Opposition-criticism on the home or foreign policy of the omnipotent Justinian. Very different from the manly and moderate tone of this his standard work are the sickening adulation of the *De Aedificiis* and the venomous tirade of the *Anecdota*, both of which books must belong to the old age of Procopius, the former being apparently written to the Emperor's order and therefore crowded with insincere and extorted compliments, while the latter was never to leave the author's desk while he lived, and therefore received all the pent-up bitterness of his insulted and indignant soul.

The attitude of Procopius towards the religious questions which agitated the Eastern world is as

¹ Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν νῆσον, τῶν τε εἰρημένων αὐτόπτη γενέσθαι, καίπερ γλιχομένῳ τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνηνέχθη (De Bell. Gotth. ii. 15; p. 206).

the following passage from an early chapter of BOOK IV.
his Gothic history¹ tells us as much as he himself Ch. 15.
knew about his innermost thoughts on religious
subjects. After describing an embassy from the
Pope to the Emperor 'on account of the doctrine
about which the different Churches of Christendom
dispute among themselves,' he continues,—

'But upon the points in dispute. I, *though* Procopius's confession of faith.
well acquainted with them, shall say as little as
possible, for I hold it to be proof of a madman's
folly to search out what the Nature of God is like.
For, by man, not even the things of a man can
in my opinion be accurately apprehended, far less
those which pertain to the Nature of God. I
shall therefore pass over these subjects in safe
silence, only remarking that I do not disbelieve
in those things which other men reverence. For
I would never say anything else concerning God,
except that He is altogether good and holds all
things in His own power. But let every one else,
whether priest or layman, speak on such subjects
according to his own presumed knowledge.'

There have been times in the history of the His Hel-
world, with reference to which an inquiry of this lenism an
kind as to the religious opinions of their describer important
would be irrelevant and almost impertinent. No element in
one who knows the spirit of the sixth century his charac-
will say this of Procopius. His attitude of aloof- ter as a
ness from special theological controversy secures historian.
his impartiality between warring sects. His phi-

¹ i. 3.

of strategy he seems to have shown himself superior to the imperial general, since he was able to concentrate 40,000 men for the attack, while Belisarius could muster only 25,000 for the defence. Deeming the battle as good as won Perozes sent an arrogant message to the Roman commander: 'Prepare me a bath in Daras, for I intend to repose there to-morrow.' But when the Persian troops advanced to the attack they soon perceived that they were in the presence of a master of tactics and that their victory would not be an easy one. Under the walls of Daras Belisarius had ordered his troops to dig a long but not continuous trench, with two side-trenches sloping away from it at an obtuse angle at either end. His irregular troops, consisting chiefly of Huns¹, Heruli, and other barbarians, were stationed in the intervals which had been purposely left between the various parts of this line of defence. Behind them, ready to take advantage of any victory which might be won by the irregulars,

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
530.

¹ Both here and in other passages of his histories Procopius has somewhat perplexed his successors by talking about the *Massagetae*. He gives us, however, the key to the riddle in a passage in the *De Bello Vandalico* (i. 11): 'Aegan was of the race of the *Massagetae*, whom they now call *Huns*.' He always prefers archaic words and names, calls Constantinople Byzantium, and Dyrrhachium Epidamnus: and on the same principle prefers to call the Huns *Massagetae* because he finds the latter name in Herodotus and not the former. But there is no need for modern historians to follow his example: and I therefore use the word with which the story of Attila has made us familiar, instead of its shadowy Herodotean equivalent.

and fell to the earth from the violence of their onset. Then ensued a struggle which of the two champions should first rise from the ground ; a struggle which the gymnastic skill of Andreas terminated in his favour. He struck the Persian who had risen on one knee, with another blow he felled him to the earth, and so slew him amid the tumultuous applause of the Roman soldiery.

That night was passed by both armies in their previous positions. In the early morning (while the Persian general was marching up 10,000 additional troops from the city of Nisibis), messages were interchanged between the generals. Belisarius, avowing that he held it to be the highest mark of generalship to obtain peace, invited the Mirran even now, at the eleventh hour, to relinquish an attack which, made as it was in the midst of negotiations for peace, had in it something of the nature of treachery, and to retire within the Persian frontier. The Mirran replied: 'If you were not Romans we would listen gladly to your arguments: but you belong to a nation which neither promises nor oaths can bind. We have met you now in open war, and will either die here or fight on till old age overtakes us, that we may force you to do us justice.' Said Belisarius: 'Calling us hard names alters not the truth of facts. God and justice are on our side.' The Mirran answered: 'We too know that the gods are on our side, and with their help we shall

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
530.

Battle of
Daras.
Second
day.

their huge shields, keeping their own bodies safe for a time, but powerless to injure the enemy.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
530.

The battle began at noon, the Persians, who dined late, having purposely chosen this time for the attack, because they deemed that the Romans, debarred from their usual mid-day meal, would be faint with hunger. A cloud of arrows from both sides soon darkened the air. In number the missiles of the Persians greatly exceeded; but a favouring wind gave a deadly energy to the fewer darts of the Romans. The Mirran had drawn up his army in two divisions, intending continually to recruit his first line with drafts from the unwearied troops behind them. On the Roman side, the trench with its two flanking lines was still the framework of the position: but Pharas the Herulian, anxious to do great deeds, and not seeing his opportunity in the crowded lines at the left-hand angle of the trenches, asked and obtained leave to make a long flank march and to occupy an eminence in the rear of the Persian right.

Two generals, under the Mirran, commanded the Persian army, Pituazes on the left, Baresmanas on the right. The onset of Pituazes at first met with some success: perhaps the withdrawal of Pharas had unduly weakened the Roman line at the point assailed by him. Soon, however, the generals who were posted behind the main trench saw their opportunity to make a charge on the

distant pursuit of the enemy. The battle, which was a decisive one, had in truth been gained by tactics not unlike those which had in old times been practised by the Parthians against their enemies, namely, by taking advantage of the disorder into which the very fact of pursuit betrays an apparently successful squadron. We can see that the mode of fighting is as dissimilar as possible to the old steady advance of the heavy-armed legions of Rome. Belisarius's army, Roman only in name, consists largely of Huns, Herulians, and other stalwart barbarians drawn from along the northern frontier of the Empire. Courage they have in abundance: they need but discipline to make them irresistible, and that the subtle brain and commanding presence of Belisarius, a born general and king of men, supply in perfection.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.

530.
Character
of the
tactics of
Belisarius.

How entirely the success of the imperial arms was due to the personal ascendancy of Belisarius over his troops was clearly shown in the campaign of 531, when, for want of proper subordination on their part, the battle of Sura was lost by the Romans. In the deliberations in the Persian Court at the beginning of that year, Perozes, the late Mirran, appeared shorn of his dignity, and no longer wearing the circlet of gold and pearls which had before wreathed his brows. This was the punishment inflicted by the King of Kings on the general who had lost the battle of Daras. While the King and his counsellors were discussing the possible routes for invading the Empire by the old

Campaign
of 531.

Advice of
a Saracen
chief to the
Persian
king.

the safety of their city, streamed down the valley of the Orontes to the coast of the Mediterranean¹.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.

But tidings of the invasion having reached Belisarius, he ventured to leave the upper frontier comparatively undefended and to make a forced march with an army of 20,000 men to the little lake of Gabbula, about sixty miles east of Antioch, where the enemy were mustered. On hearing of his approach they abandoned the enterprise in despair, and began to retreat towards the Persian frontier.

531.

Belisarius followed, slowly pushing them down the western bank of the Euphrates, avoiding a pitched battle, and each night encamping in the quarters which the enemy had occupied the night before.

Belisarius pursues the invading army in its retreat.

He had in this way reached the little town of Sura, nearly opposite the city of Callinicus. The latter, though on the other side of the Euphrates, was a Roman city, for down to this point both banks of the great river were still included in the Empire. Here the invaders were intending to cross the Euphrates and make their way back across the desert to their own land. Nor was Belisarius minded to stop them. True, they still carried with them some of the spoil which they had gathered in the plains of Chalcis, but the shame of a thwarted enterprise more than outweighed this advantage.

But now arose a strange delusion in the Roman army, shared alike by the most experienced officers and by the rawest recruits just drawn from following the plough in the valleys of Lycaonia, to face,

The army clamours for a battle.

¹ Malalas, p. 462 (ed. Bonn).

right, the Roman position was strengthened by the steepness of the ground. Here fought those Saracen tribes who were friendly to the Empire, and mingled with them were some soldiers who bore the name of Isaurians. In reality, however, they were the Lycaonian rustics to whom reference has already been made. Like the name of Switzer after the great battles of Granson and Morat, so was Isaurian in the armies of the Empire, a title of honour sometimes claimed by men who had little right to it.

On the other side, Azareth and his Persians by the Euphrates faced the Roman left and centre: while the Saracens under Alamundar faced their countrymen on the Roman right.

For some time the battle hung in suspense. Both armies were fighting with missile weapons, and the Roman archers, though less numerous, drew a stronger bow and did more deadly execution than the Persian. After two-thirds of the day had thus elapsed, an impetuous charge of Alamundar caused the Roman right to waver. Ascan the Hun, by the prodigies of valour which he performed, checked for some time the rout of this portion of the army, but after he and the 800 braves who were with him had fallen, there was no longer a show of resistance in this part of the field. The Lycaonian rustics, who were lately so loud in teaching lessons of valour to Belisarius, fell like sheep before the knife, scarcely lifting a weapon in self-defence. The

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
531.

Battle of
Sura (or
Callinicus).

BOOK IV. Saracens, pursued by their brother Saracens and
 CH. 15. the mighty Alamundar, streamed in disorder across
 531. the plain.

of the
 ns.

Belisarius, when he saw the death of Ascan, was forced to flee with his cavalry to the infantry beside the Euphrates. Dismounting from his horse, he fought as a foot-soldier in the ranks, and bade his companions do the same. Turning their backs to the river, the little band of Romans with tightly-locked shields formed a solid wedge, against which the masses of Persian cavalry dashed themselves in vain. Again and again the unavailing charge was attempted. At length night fell, and under its friendly shelter Belisarius and the brave remnant of his army escaped across the river to Callinicus, where they were safe from the Persian pursuit. When Easter Sunday dawned, the Persians as masters of the field buried the bodies of the slain, and found to their dismay that as many of their own countrymen as of the Romans lay upon the plain.

Return of
 the Per-
 sians to
 their own
 land.

The event of the battle, though abundantly vindicating the wisdom of Belisarius in desiring to decline it, did not greatly alter the course of the campaign. The Persian generals continued their retreat: and when they appeared in the presence of Kobad, the aged monarch asked them what Roman city they had added to his dominions, or whether they had brought him any of the spoil of Antioch. 'Not so, O King of Kings,' answered Azareth, 'but we return from winning a victory over Belisarius and the Roman army.' 'At what

cost?' said Kobad. 'Let the arrows be counted.' BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
531.
It was an ancient custom in the Persian state that the army, when about to start for a campaign, should defile before the king, and that each soldier should cast an arrow into a basket at his feet. The baskets were sealed with the king's seal, and kept in a place of safety till the return of the host. They then again marched in order past the king, each soldier as he passed drawing forth an arrow from the basket. The arrows undrawn told the tale of the soldiers who returned not from the enemy's land. Now, after the day of Sura so numerous were these, the arrows of the dead, that Kobad taunted the triumphant general with his too dear-bought victory; and never after was Azareth entrusted with any high command.

Four months after the battle of Sura, Kobad Death of Kobad, 8 Sept. 531. died; his long and eventful life being ended by a rapid attack of paralysis. His third son, the celebrated Chosroës or Nushirwan, succeeded to Accession of Chosroës. the throne, though not without a struggle, in which he put to death every male of his father's house. Possibly these domestic troubles made him the more ready to end the war with the Roman Emperor. After some little diplomatic wrangling Peace concluded, 532. a peace, proudly called 'The Endless Peace¹,' was arranged between the two Empires. The fortresses Ratified by Justinian, 533. taken on either side were to be restored; Daras was not to be occupied as a military post; and Justinian was to pay Chosroës 11,000 pounds'

¹ Ἡ ἀπέραντος καλουμένη εἰρήνη (Procopius, i. 22 ; p. 114).

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.**Recall of
Belisarius,
531.****His mar-
riage.****Age and
character
of Anto-
nina.**

weight of gold (£440,000) as a contribution towards the expenses of guarding the Caucasus frontier from the barbarians. Upon the whole, the terms were a confession on each side that the game was drawn.

Meanwhile, shortly after the battle of Sura, Belisarius had been recalled to Constantinople by his master, who already meditated employing the talents of this brilliant officer in an entirely new field. It was probably at this time that the young general met and married the woman who was thenceforward to exercise so mighty an influence over his fortunes. Antonina, whose father and grandfather had been charioteers, and whose mother had been a woman of loose character connected with the theatre, could not be considered on the score of birth an equal mate for the young guardsman. In years also she had the disadvantage, being according to Procopius¹ twenty-two years, and certainly not less than twelve years, her husband's senior. She was a widow, and had two grown-up children, when Belisarius married her. The strong and abiding affection which bound the great general to this strangely chosen wife, his deference for her clear and manly judgment, his toleration of her strange vagaries, and even of the stain which she more than once

¹ He says that Antonina was sixty in 543, and therefore born in 483. I suspect that Procopius has added some years to her age, but the ages of her children make it impossible that she could be born much, if at all, after 493. The birth-year of Belisarius was probably about 505.

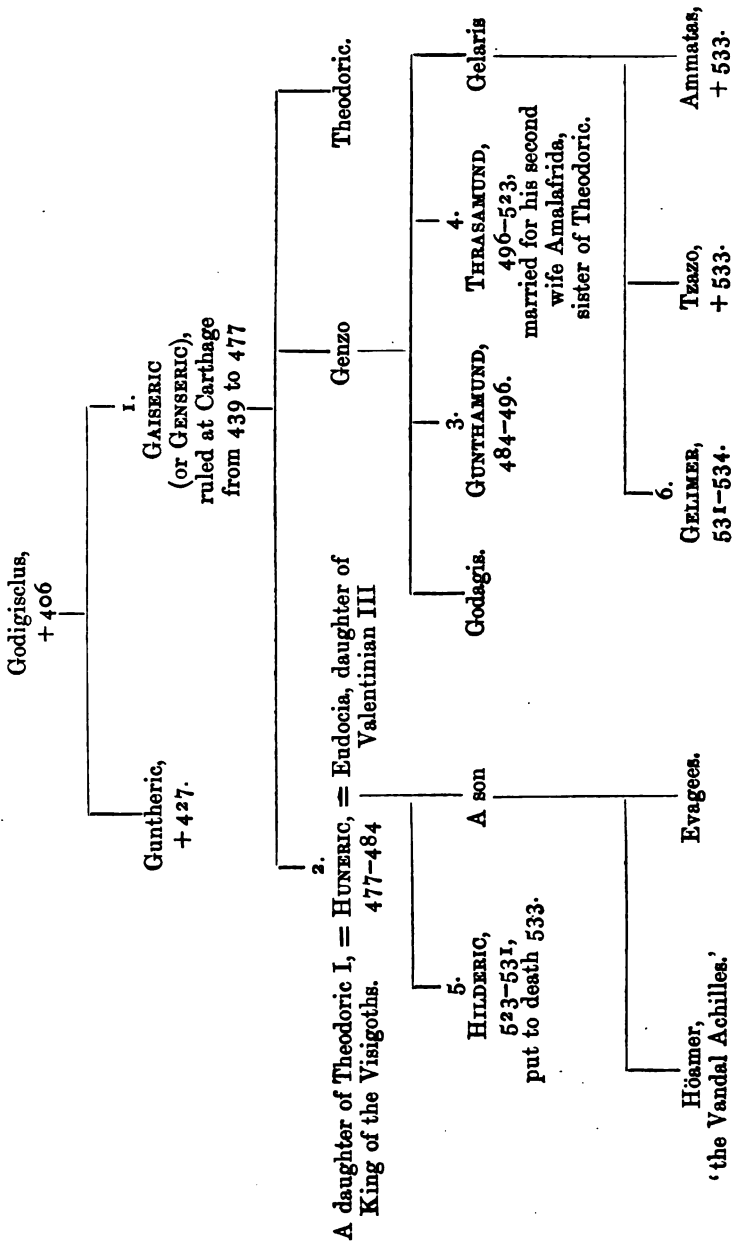
brought upon his honour, all seemed like a reflection of his imperial master's passion for Theodora. At present, however, the two great ladies, the comic dancer and the actress's daughter, were not on friendly terms with one another. At a later period, the friendship of Theodora for Antonina was to be a factor strongly influencing the fortunes of Belisarius both for good and for evil.

The service upon which Justinian meditated employing Belisarius was to lie in the lands of the West, as far from Constantinople in that direction as the plains of Mesopotamia were in the other. He was to renew the attempt, in which Basiliscus had failed so disastrously sixty-five years before—the attempt to pull down the great Vandal kingdom and restore the provinces of Africa to the sway of the Emperor.

Two months after the battle of Sura a revolution took place at Carthage which furnished Justinian with an admirable pretext for such an enterprise. We have seen that Thrasamund was succeeded by Hilderic, the elderly grandson of Gaiseric, with Catholic sympathies derived from his mother Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III. Not only by his religious divergence from the ancestral creed was Hilderic ill-fitted for the Vandal throne. His subjects, though they had lost much of their old warlike impetuosity, still loved at least to talk of battle and the camp: while Hilderic, in the exceeding softness and tenderness of his nature, could not bear that any one

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.Hilderic
King of the
Vandals,
May, 523.

GENEALOGY OF THE VANDAL KINGS.



time to taste any of the pleasures of the capital. BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
The great civil officers groaned over the prospect of the toil they would have to undergo and the odium they must incur in collecting money and stores for so remote an expedition.

The chief of these civil officers, the ablest, the most illiterate, and the most unscrupulous man among them, the Prætorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia, delivered an oration in full consistory, earnestly dissuading the Emperor from his enterprise. 'You wish, O Augustus, to reach with your arms the city of Carthage. That city lies at a distance from us of 140 days' journey if you go by land. If you sail to it you must cross a wide waste of waters and reach the utmost limits of the sea. Should misfortune overtake your army, it will be a whole year before we hear the tidings of it. And even if you conquer Africa, O Emperor, never will you be able to hold it while Italy and Sicily own the sway of the Ostrogoth. In a word, success in my opinion will bring you no lasting gain, and disaster will involve the ruin of your flourishing Empire.'

For the time Justinian was shaken by the unanimous opposition of his counsellors, and was willing to relinquish the project. But the insulting words of Gelimer rankled in his breast; the glory of restoring the province of Africa to the Empire and her Church to the Catholic communion was too alluring to be abandoned: and when a Bishop from a distant Eastern diocese announced The project abandoned.

of 20,000 sailors (forty to each ship, great and small) manned this fleet. There were besides ninety-two fast war-ships, of the kind called *dro-mones*, rowed by 2000 Byzantines. These ships had only one bank of oars, and were roofed over to protect the rowers from the enemy's darts. We may perhaps consider that they occupied a similar position in the Byzantine fleet to that held by the torpedo-boats of to-day in a modern navy.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
533.

About Midsummer-day, in the year 533, the armament, the subject of so many hopes and fears, sailed from the quay in front of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. Epiphanius the Patriarch came on board the general's ship, offered the accustomed prayers, and, for greater good-fortune, left a newly-baptized soldier, a convert to Christianity, under the flag of Belisarius. Calms detained the fleet for some days in the Hellespont, and, while there, two drunken Hunnish soldiers slew a man with whom they had quarrelled¹. Belisarius hung them up at once in sight of the whole army on a hill overlooking Abydos. Their comrades murmured ; but the general, in a short, vigorous speech, reminded them that their only hope of success in the enterprise which they had undertaken lay in the observance of strict justice, without which neither God's favour nor man's could be looked for by them. And as for the plea of drunkenness, no man, whether Roman

The fleet
sets sail,
June, 533.

¹ Procopius says that of all mankind the Huns were the most intemperate in drinking.

BOOK IV. or barbarian, should be allowed to plead that as
 CH. 15.
 533. an excuse for his crime, which was rather its
 aggravation. The soldiers heard the general's
 words, looked upon the gallows from which their
 comrades were hanging, and conceived a salutary
 fear of offending against the laws which found
 so prompt a defender.

Detention
 at Me-
 thone.

The winds were not favourable, and at Methone¹
 there was another long detention of the fleet.
 The misery of sickness was added to the misery
 of inaction, and that sickness was caused by the
 dishonest cupidity of a Byzantine official. John
 of Cappadocia, who had contracted to supply the
 fleet with a certain number of pounds' weight of
 biscuit, had sent the dough to be baked at the fur-
 nace which heated one of the public baths at Con-
 stantinople. He had thus economised baker's wages
 and fuel, and he had prevented the shrinking in
 volume which resulted from a proper application
 of the process. But the so-called twice-baked
 bread², only once baked and that imperfectly,
 was a loathsome and corrupting mass when the
 sacks containing it were opened at Methone. The
 commissaries at first insisted on supplying it to
 the men. A pestilence was the natural result,
 from which five hundred soldiers died. As soon
 as the matter came to the ears of Belisarius, he

¹ Now Modon, near Navarino, at the S.W. corner of the
 Morea.

² Τὸν ἄρτον . . . δις μὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τὸν πηγία εἰσάγεσθαι. In
 other words, it ought to be *biscuit*, not bread.

at once reported the Prefect's dishonesty to Justinian, stopped the issue of the unsound stores to the troops, and purchased the bread of the district for distribution among them.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
533.

At length the fleet reached Zante and there took in water. Still so idly flapped their sails that it took them sixteen days to cross from Zante to Catania in Sicily, and during this passage many of the ships' crews suffered severely from want of water. On board the general's ship, however, there was abundance; for the provident Antonina had stored a large quantity of the precious fluid in some glass *amphoræ*, which she had then deposited in an improvised wooden cellar, constructed in the hold of the ship and carefully covered over with sand. Thus the general and his staff, including the grateful Procopius, had always plenty of cool draughts of water, while their comrades on board the other ships were parched with thirst.

Voyage
from Zante
to Catania.

About two months had probably elapsed from the time of the fleet's departure from Constantinople before it reached Sicily. Owing to the unhealed quarrel between the Vandals and Ostrogoths, resulting from the death of Amalafrida, and owing also to the relations of intimate alliance which the Romanising Amalasuntha had established with Justinian, Sicily afforded the imperial troops not only a safe but a friendly resting-place, where they could refit and re-victual their ships at pleasure. Without this advantage,

Friendly
reception
in Sicily.

general's quarters at Caucana¹, the meeting-place of the troops on the south coast of the island, about fifty miles from Syracuse. The Secretary's face showed that he brought good tidings, and he had a living voucher for their truth. Almost immediately on his arrival at Syracuse he had met with a person who had been a friend of his from childhood, but who, on account of his interest in some shipping property, had quitted the East and was now settled in the Sicilian capital. When Procopius cautiously propounded his questions about Carthage, his friend replied, 'I have the very man, who can give you the needed information. This servant of mine returned but three days ago from Carthage: ask him.' The servant declared that no preparations worth speaking of were being made by the Vandals to meet the Byzantine armament. They did not even know that it had left Constantinople. Gelimer was at an inland place called Hermione, a considerable distance from Carthage. And, most important of all, by a piece of rare good-fortune for the Romans, all the best Vandal soldiers had sailed away to Sardinia, under the command of Tzazo, Gelimer's brother, to put down the rebellion of one Godas, a Goth who had been sent thither by the Vandal King to collect tribute, but who was now trying to open communications with the Emperor on

BOOK IV.

CH. 15.

533-

Vandal expedition to Sardinia under Gelimer's brother Tzazo.

¹ I see no sufficient reason for Lord Mahon's proposal to read Catana, in defiance of all MS. authority, instead of Caucana.

had made was called Caputvada¹, and was about BOOK IV.
CH. 15. 130 miles in a straight line south by east of Carthage. The coast of Africa here runs nearly due north and south, and the corner where it turns from its usual east and west direction, the very conspicuous promontory of Cape Bon² (called by the Greeks and Romans Hermæum), lies 130 miles due north of Caputvada, and about thirty east of Carthage.

Before landing, Belisarius called a council of war Council
of war. on board his ship. The Patrician Archelaus, his civil Assessor and Paymaster-General, was earnest in his advice that they should not land there, but sail round to the great pool³ close to the harbour of Carthage, where there would be shelter and ample berthing-room for all the ships, and where they would be quite close to the scene of operations. There was much to be said on behalf of this view, and it was well said by Archelaus, who, as master of the commissariat department, especially insisted on the difficulties that would beset the provisioning of the troops upon a land-march if the fleet, their base of supply, should be dashed to pieces against the Libyan coast. Belisarius, however, who felt that he could trust his troops by land and could not trust them by sea, refused to give the Vandals another chance of bringing on a naval engagement, and gave his decisive voice in

¹ Translated by Procopius *Κεφαλὴ βράχους*, 'Shoal-promontory'; now called Ras Kapoodia.

² Or Ras Addar.

³ Stagnum.

^{533.}
The fleet
reaches
Caputvada.

Archelaus
tries to dis-
suade Beli-
sarius from
landing.

BOOK IV. favour of disembarking at Caputvada and proceeding from thence to Carthage by land. The soldiers were ordered at once to fortify the position at Caputvada with the usual fosse and vallum of a Roman camp¹. In doing so they discovered a copious spring of excellent water, welcome for its own sake, but doubly welcome because it was looked upon as something supernatural and a token of Divine favour on the enterprise.

CH. 15.

533.
Disem-
barkation.

Syllectum
opens its
gates.

Defection
of the
Vandal
postmaster.

As it proved, this *fossatum* or entrenched camp was not needed by the Romans. The extraordinary apathy, or panic, or over-confidence of the Vandals still left the imperial army free from attack. The neighbouring city of Syllectum, at the persuasion of the Catholic bishop and the leading citizens—men doubtless of Roman nationality—gladly opened her gates to the Emperor's generals. An even more important defection was that of the Vandal Postmaster of the Province², who placed all the post-horses of his district at the general's disposal. One of the King's messengers (*veredarii*) was captured, and Belisarius sought to make use of him to circulate Justinian's proclamation, which, in the usual style of such documents, stated that

¹ Procopius' words will be interesting to all students of Roman fortifications: Βελισαρίος ἐκέλευε τὴν τε τάφρον ὀρύσσειν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα περιβαλίσθαι. . . . Αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ τε τάφρος ὀρώρυκτο καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ξυντετέλειστο, καὶ οἱ σκολόπες κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ξυνπεπύχαστο. Here we have the fosse, the vallum, and the palisading, exactly the Pfahl-graben of the Germans.

² Ὁ τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμον ἐπιμελούμενος: Procurator (?) Publici Cursus.

the invading army came, not to make war on the people of the land, but only on the tyrant and usurper Gelimer. The *veredarius* handed copies of the proclamation to some of his friends, but not much came of his proceedings. Sovereigns and statesmen generally overrate the importance of such manifestoes.

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CH. 15.
533.

For eleven days¹ Belisarius and his army moved steadily northwards, covering a distance of about thirteen miles a day. A force of 300 men under the command of his steward², John the Armenian, preceded the main body of the army at a distance of about three miles. The Huns rode at the same distance to the left. Thus, if danger threatened from either quarter, the general was sure to have early notice of it. His right wing was of course sufficiently protected by the sea, where his ships slowly accompanied the march of the land forces. Belisarius sternly repressed the slightest disposition on the part of his soldiers to plunder, and insisted on every article of food required being punctually paid for. He was rewarded for this exercise of

Order of
march of
the impe-
rial army.

¹ The Itinerarium makes the distance from Tusdrus (which is about as far off as Caputvada) to Carthage, 157 Roman miles. Procopius tells us that Belisarius marched 80 stadia a day. The stadium is generally considered equivalent to the eighth of a Roman mile, but we know from Procopius (De Bello Gotthico, i. 11) that 113 of his stadia=19 Roman miles, or, roughly, six of his stadia=one mile. This would give about 13½ Roman miles for each day's march: and eleven of these marches would bring the army to Decimum, ten miles from Carthage.

² Called at this time *Optio*: ὅς οἱ ἐπεμελείτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὁπτίωνα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

BOOK IV. discipline by the hearty good-will of the pro-
 CH. 15. vincials, who evidently gave no information of
 553. his movements to the enemy. The soldiers, too,
 had their reward for their painful self-denial when,
 about sixty miles from Carthage, they reached the
 'Paradise' which surrounded the beautiful palace
 of the Vandal kings at Grassé. Here were spring-
 ing fountains, a great depth of shade, and fruit-
 trees in overpowering abundance. Into these
 lovely gardens poured the dusty, travel-worn By-
 zantines, and found them indeed a Paradise. Each
 soldier made himself a little hut under the boughs
 of some fruit-tree and ate his fill of its luscious
 produce: yet, strange to say, when the bugle
 sounded and the army had to leave the too brief
 delights of Grassé, it seemed as if there was still
 the same wealth of fruit upon the trees that hung
 there when the first soldier entered.

The Para-
 dise of the
 Vandal
 kings at
 Grassé.

Gelimer's
 move-
 ments.

Death of
 Hilderic.

Now at length, on the 13th of September¹, four
 days after leaving Grassé, when the army reached
 Ad Decimum, came the shock of grim war to inter-
 rupt this pleasant promenade through the enemy's
 land. When Gelimer heard the tidings of the
 enemy's landing, his first step was to send orders
 to Carthage that Hilderic and his surviving rela-
 tives and friends should be put to death: his

¹ We get this date from the statement of Procopius (*De Bell. Vand. i. 21*) that Ammatas marched out of Carthage on the eve of St. Cyprian's day. This festival, which now falls on the 16th of September, according to the old ecclesiastical calendar fell on the 14th. Papencordt (p. 152, n. 1) is my authority for this statement.

next, to desire his brother Ammatas, who com-BOOK IV.
manded at Carthage, to arm all the Vandal sol- CH. 15.
diers and prepare for a combined attack on the 533.
invaders. The place chosen for this combined
attack was a point ten miles from Carthage (Ad
Decimum), where the road went between steep
hills, and it seemed possible to catch the enemy
as in a trap. Three divisions were to co-operate
in the movement. While Ammatas, sallying forth
from Carthage, attacked the Roman van, King
Gelimer himself with the main body of the army
was to fall upon their rear, and at the same hour
his nephew Gibamund, moving over the hills from
the west, was to fall upon their left flank.

Plan of the
Vandals'
triple
attack.

The plan was skilfully conceived, and Procopius
himself expresses his astonishment that the Roman
host should have escaped destruction. Some part
of the credit of their deliverance was due to the
arrangements made by Belisarius for obtaining
early information of what was going on in front
of him and on his left flank, but more to the
Chance or Fate or Providence (Procopius scarcely
knows which to style it) that caused Ammatas to
issue too early from Carthage and deliver his
attack too soon¹. He came about noonday, and

Battle of
Ad Deci-
mum,
13 Sept.
533.

¹ How was it possible, before the invention of watches, to reckon with any certainty on concerted operations upon the battle-field? The clepsydra and other such clumsy contrivances for the measurement of time would surely be useless here. No doubt a practised eye would learn the time with sufficient accuracy from the position of the sun in the heavens when the sky was clear. But how, if it was overcast? Apparently the

advanced, and the Vandal detachment, two thousand men in number, fled panic-stricken from the field.

BOOK
CH. I
533

Very different at first was the fortune of the main body of their army led by Gelimer himself. Procopius's description of this part of the action is somewhat confused; but it seems clear that the hilly nature of the ground hid the movements of Belisarius and Gelimer from one another. The Roman general had inadvertently drawn out his line too wide; and the Vandal King, equally by accident, slipped in between Belisarius and the centre of his army. He was thus enabled to make a most dangerous flank attack on the Roman centre, and in fact to gain the victory, if he had known how to keep it. If after his defeat of the infantry he had moved to the left against the small body of cavalry that surrounded Belisarius, he might easily have overwhelmed them. If he had pushed forward he would have annihilated John's forces still scattered in all the disorder of pursuit, and saved Carthage. He did neither. As he was leisurely descending a hill, his possession of which had given him the victory over the Roman centre, he came upon the dead body of Ammatas, still unburied and gashed with honourable wounds. Grief at this sight drove every thought of battle from the mind of Gelimer. He burst out into loud bewailings, and would not stir from the place till he had given his brother befitting burial. Meanwhile Belisarius was rallying his fugitive soldiers;

Tempo:
success
Gelime

people who peaceably submitted themselves were to be spared. Meanwhile, still fearing some stratagem of the enemy, and doubtful also of the self-restraint of his soldiers, he refused for that night to enter the illuminated city. Next day, having satisfied himself that the enemy had indeed vanished, and having harangued his soldiers on the duty of scrupulously respecting the lives and property of the Carthaginian citizens, fellow-subjects with themselves of the Roman Emperor, and men, whom they had come to deliver from the degrading yoke of the barbarian, he at length marched into the city, where he was received with shouts of welcome by the inhabitants. The hundred years of Vandal domination were at an end. The Emperor, Senate, and People of Rome were again supreme in the great colony which Caius Gracchus had founded on the ruins of her mighty antagonist. And yet, strange contradiction, suggestive of future labours and dangers for the great commander, at that very time Rome herself, her Senate and her People, obeyed the orders of the Gothic princess, Amalasuntha.

The exhortations of Belisarius to his troops bore memorable fruit. Never did soldiers march into a conquered town in more friendly guise. Although it was notorious that generally even a little handful of imperial soldiers marching into one of the cities of the Empire would fill the air with their boisterous clamour, and would terrify the peaceful inhabitants with their military braggadocio, now the

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.

533.

Carthage
entered,
15 Sept.
533.Orderly
conduct of
the troops.

BOOK IV. whole army entered in perfect order and without
CH. 15. an unnecessary sound. No threats were heard, no
533- deed of insolence was done. The secretaries of the
army, gliding about from rank to rank, distributed
to each man his billet, and he departed tranquilly
to his appointed lodging. In the workshops, the
handicraftsmen plied their accustomed tasks; in
the agora, the buyer and the seller bargained as
of old. No one would have dreamed from the
appearance of the city that a mighty revolution
had that very day been consummated in the midst
thereof.

Escape of
the Byzan-
tine mer-
chants.

On the morning of this eventful day many Byzan-
tine merchants whom Gelimer in his rage had
arrested, and whom he meant to have put to death
on the very day of the battle of Ad Decimum, were
cowering in a dark dungeon in the King's palace,
expecting every moment to be ordered forth to
execution. The gaoler entered and asked them
what price they were willing to pay for their safety.
'My whole fortune,' each one gladly answered.
'You may keep your money,' said he. 'I ask for
nothing but that you should help me if I too
should be in danger of my life.' With that he re-
moved a plank from before their prison window.
With blinking eyes they looked forth to the blind-
ing sky over the blue Mediterranean, and saw the
imperial fleet drawing near to the city of their
captivity. The chain which had stretched across
the harbour was broken by the citizens' own hands,
and they were crowding down to the port to wel-

come their deliverers¹. At that sight the prisoners knew that their chains also were broken. The gaoler opened the prison doors and went down into the streets in their company.

BOOK IV.

CH. 15.

533-

When noon was come, Belisarius, who had already entered the palace and seated himself on the throne of Gelimer, commanded that the mid-day meal should be served to him and to his officers in the Delphic chamber, the great banqueting-hall of the palace. Among the generals and officers sat the secretary Procopius, and mused on the instability of Fortune, as he found himself and his comrades waited upon by the royal pages, and eating, from the gold and silver plate of the Vandal, the very same luxurious meats and drinking the same costly wines which had been prepared for the repast of Gelimer himself.

Belisarius
in Geli-
mer's
palace.

A similar example of sowing without reaping was furnished by the cathedral church of Carthage, named after her great martyred bishop, St. Cyprian. Many a time, says Procopius, during the stress of the Vandal persecution, had the saint appeared in visions to his disciples and told them that they need not distress themselves, since he himself in time would avenge their wrongs. On the eve of his great yearly festival, which, as it chanced, was the very day that Ammatas rode forth from Carthage to fall among the hills of Ad

The ca-
thedral
claimed
by the
Catholics.

¹ In point of fact the fleet did not enter the harbour, but for nautical reasons took up their position in the *Stagnum* on the south-west of it.

hands of Belisarius, who read it and dismissed them unharmed.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.

Meanwhile Gelimer, who had perhaps gained information of the contents of the letter, wrote to his brother. 'Not Godas, but some cruel decree of destiny wrenched Sardinia from us. While you, with all our bravest, have been recovering that island, Justinian has been making himself master of Africa. With few men did Belisarius come against us, but all the ancient valour of the Vandals seemed to have departed, and with it all our old good-fortune. They turned faint-hearted when they saw Ammatas and Gibamund slain, and fleeing, left horses and ships and the province of Africa, and, worst of all, Carthage itself, a prey to our enemies. Here then we sit encamped in the plain of Bulla. Our only hope is in you. Leave Sardinia to take care of itself, and come and help us. It will be at least some comfort in our calamities to feel that we are bearing them together.'

533.
Gelimer
summons
him from
Sardinia.

When Tzazo and his Vandals received these grievous tidings in Sardinia, they broke forth into lamentations, all the more bitter because they had to be repressed whenever any of the subject islanders were near. Then, with all speed, they set sail, reached the point of the African coast where the Numidian and Mauritanian frontiers joined, and marched on foot to the plain of Bulla, where they met the rest of the army. The two brothers, Gelimer and Tzazo, fell on one another's necks and remained for long locked in a silent embrace,

The army
of Sardinia
returns.

Pathetic
meeting
of the two
brothers.

line ; marched to Carthage ; broke down the aqueduct, an exceedingly fine one, which supplied the city ; and encamped at Tricamaron, a place about twenty miles distant from the capital, from whence he could block more than one of the roads leading thither. The secret negotiations which he set on foot with the Arians in Carthage and in the army of Belisarius were discovered by the general, who at once hung Laurus the chief traitor, on a hill overlooking the city. With the fierce and ungovernable Huns, who had listened to Gelimer's proposals, it was not possible to take such severe measures. In the battle which all men knew to be now impending they had determined to take no active part till Fortune should have declared herself, and then to join the victorious side.

At length, about the middle of December, Belisarius marched forth from Carthage to fight the battle of Tricamaron. Gelimer, who had placed the Vandal women and children in the middle of his camp, in order that their cries might stimulate their husbands and fathers to a desperate defence, harangued his troops, adjuring them to choose death rather than defeat, which involved slavery and the loss of all that made life delightful both for themselves and for these dear ones. Tzazo added a few words, specially addressed to the army of Sardinia, exhorting them, who had yet suffered no defeat, to prove themselves the deliverers of the Vandal name. The battle began stubbornly. Twice was the desperate charge of

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
533.

Battle of
Tricamaron,
15 (?) Dec.
533.

ing on a neighbouring hill to survey the scene, succeeded by his shouted adjurations in restoring some degree of order, first among the soldiers of his own household, and then, through their means, in the rest of the army. So were all the soldiers with their captives and spoils at length safely marched back to Carthage. The numerous Vandal suppliants in the churches of the district were admitted to quarter, and preparations were made for shipping off the greater number of them as prisoners to Constantinople. Experienced officers were sent to Sardinia, to Corsica, to the Balearic Isles, to Ceuta and other Mauritanian towns, and easily brought all these recent possessions of the Vandals into the obedience of the Emperor. At Lilybæum only in Sicily (now Marsala) were they unsuccessful. Here the Goths, though friendly to the Romans, entirely refused to recognise that conquest gave Justinian any right to claim Amalafrida's dowry, and declined to surrender the city.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.533-
Belisarius
restores
discipline.The Van-
dal posses-
sions in the
Mediterranean
secured.Affair of
Lilybæum.

When Gelimer escaped from the field of Tricameron, Belisarius ordered John the Armenian to follow after him night and day, and not to rest till he had taken him prisoner. For five days did this pursuit continue, and on the following day it would probably have been successful but for a strange misadventure. There was among John's soldiers a barbarian named Uliaris, a brave soldier, but flighty, impetuous, and a drunkard. On the morning of the sixth day, at sunrise, Uliaris, who was already intoxicated, saw a bird sitting on a

Pursuit of
Gelimer.

the floor of his hut, upon which, it is true, the wealthy Mauritanian spread a sheep-skin before he laid him down to rest. In the delights of the chase, the theatre, and the hippodrome had passed the pleasure-tinted days of the Vandal lords of Africa. Now, instead of this ceaseless round of pleasure, there was only the dull and sordid monotony of a Moorish hamlet on a bleak mountain¹.

After the death of John, Pharas the Herulian with a band of hardy followers had been told off for the pursuit of Gelimer, and had followed him as far as the foot of the mountain. His attempt to carry the position by storm had failed. The Moors were still faithful to the exile, and the steep cliffs could not be climbed without their consent. Pharas therefore was obliged to turn his siege into a blockade; and during the three winter months at the beginning of 534 he carefully watched the mountain, suffering none to approach and none to leave it. At length, knowing what hardships the Vandal King must be enduring, he wrote him a skilful and friendly letter, asking him why, for the sake of the mere name of freedom, he persisted in depriving himself of all that made life worth living. He concluded thus: 'Justinian, I have heard, is willing to promote you to great honour, to confer upon you the

BOOK IV.
Ch. 15.
534.

Pharas the
Herulian
exhorts
Gelimer to
surrender.

¹ Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, ii. 6. The hints here given, not only as to the luxury but the immorality of the Vandals, show the change for the worse which a century of domination in Africa had wrought in them. Compare vol. i. p. 520.

had scraped together a little flour, kneaded it into dough, and put it on the coals to bake. Two boys, one of them her son and the other a Vandal prince, nephew of Gelimer, looked at the process of cooking with hungry eyes, and each determined to possess himself of the food. The Vandal was first to snatch it from the fire and thrust it, burning hot and gritty with ashes, into his mouth. At that the Moor caught him by the hair of his head, slapped him on the cheek, pulled the half-eaten morsel out of his mouth, and thrust it into his own. Gelimer, who had been watching the whole scene from beginning to end, was so touched by the thought of the misery which his obstinacy was bringing upon all belonging to him, that he wrote to Pharas, retracting his former refusal, and offering to surrender if he could be assured that the terms mentioned in the previous letter were still open to him.

Pharas sent the whole of the correspondence to Belisarius, who received it with great delight, and sent a guard of *foederati* named Cyprian to swear that the terms of surrender named by Pharas should be kept. Gelimer came down from his hill; the mutual promises were exchanged, and in a few days the Vandal King was introduced into the presence of his captor at a suburb of Carthage named Aclæ.

When Gelimer met Belisarius, to the surprise of all the bystanders, he burst into a loud peal of laughter. Some thought that the sudden re-

BOOK I
CH. 15.

534.

The terms
settled.

Belisarius
and Geli-
mer met
March 5.

BOOK IV. verse in his fortunes, the hardships, and the insufficient food of the last few months had touched

CH. 15.

534- his brain; and to a matter-of-fact historian this will perhaps still seem the most probable reason for his conduct. Procopius, however, assigns a more subtle cause. The Vandal King, suddenly, at the end of a long and prosperous life, cast down from the height of human happiness, perceived that all the prizes for which men contend here so earnestly are worthless. They are making all this coil about absolute nothingness, and whatever happens to them here is really worthy only to be laughed at. The story, as told by Procopius, and some other passages in the life of Gelimer, suggest that the character of the Vandal King might be so studied as to throw some light on that most enticing yet most difficult problem, Shakespeare's conception of the character of Hamlet.

Imputa-
tions
against the
loyalty of
Belisarius.

Meanwhile the conqueror—as well as the conquered—was feeling some of

‘The stings and arrows of outrageous Fortune.’

Some of his subordinates, envious of his glory, sent secret messages to the Emperor that Belisarius was aiming at the diadem. No doubt his having seated himself on the throne of Gelimer on that day when he entered the palace of the Vandal King lent some probability to the utterly baseless charge. The general, by good fortune, obtained a duplicate of the letter written by his enemies: and thus, when a message came back from Justinian, ‘The

Vandal captives are to be sent to Constantinople: BOOK I
choose whether you will accompany them or re- CH. 15.
main at Carthage,' he knew what answer was 534.
desired. To return was by his own act to dispel
the accusation of disloyalty: to stay would have
been at once to take up the position which his
enemies would fain assign to him of a pretender
to the crown. He wisely and as a good citizen
chose the former course.

On his return to the capital, Belisarius was Triumph
Belisarius
rewarded for his splendid services to the Senate
and People of Rome by the honours of a triumph,
which, says Procopius, had for near six hundred
years never been enjoyed by any but an Emperor.
Even now he had not quite the full honours of an
ancient Roman triumph. He walked from his
palace, whereas a Scipio or a Fabius would have
ridden in his chariot. But before him walked the
throng of Vandal captives, ending with Gelimer
and his kinsmen, all that remained of the mighty
Asding name. When the Byzantine populace saw
those strong and stately forms, they marvelled the
more at the skill of the general who had brought
all their power down into the dust. Gelimer
himself, as he passed through the streets, and
when he came into the Hippodrome and saw
Justinian sitting on his throne and the ranks and
orders of the Roman people standing on either
side of him, neither laughed nor wept, but simply
repeated again and again the words of the kingly
Hebrew preacher, 'Vanity of vanities: all is vanity.'

a Jew who was acquainted with a friend of the Emperor said : ' If those vessels are brought into the Palace they will cause the ruin of this Empire. They have already brought the Vandal to Rome, and Belisarius to Carthage : nor will Constantinople long wait for her conqueror if they remain here.' The superstitious side of Justinian's nature was affected by this suggestion, and he sent the sacred vessels away to Jerusalem to be stored up in one of the Christian churches.

BOOK IV.
CH. 15.
534.

The next year, when Belisarius entered upon his consulship, he had a kind of second triumph, which was in some respects more like the antique ceremony. He was borne on the shoulders of the captives : then he rode in his triumphal car and scattered gifts to the crowd from out of the Vandal spoils. Silver vessels and golden girdles and money from the great Vandal hoard were scattered by the new Consul among that Byzantine populace which claimed the title of the Roman People.

Consulship
of Belisarius,
535.

The fall of the Vandal monarchy was an event full of meaning for the future history of Africa. There can be little doubt that in destroying it Justinian was unconsciously removing the most powerful barrier which might in the next century have arrested the progress of Mohammedanism : and thus, in the secular contest between the Aryan and Semitic peoples, the fall of the throne of Gaiseric was a heavy blow to the cause of Europe and a great gain to the spirit of Asia.

Effects and
causes of
the fall of
the Vandal
kingdom.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ERRORS OF AMALASUNTHA.

Authorities.

Sources :—

PROCOPIUS, de Bello Gotthico, i. 2-4; JORDANES, de Rebus Geticis, cap. 59; and CASSIODORUS, Variarum, lib. x. The last-mentioned authority, like a severely edited Blue-book, tells us as little as possible of the real course of events. Even the few meagre sentences of Jordanes give more information as to the accession of Theodahad and the death of Amalasuntha than the sixteen folio pages of the letters of Cassiodorus.

THE imperial conquest of Africa foreboded at no very distant date trouble for the Gothic lords of Italy. Truly had John of Cappadocia advised the Emperor that he could not expect long to retain the lands which owned Carthage as their capital while the intervening lands of Italy and Sicily were in alien, possibly hostile, hands. Already the grievance of the unsundered fortress of Lilybæum was an indication of the coming estrangement between the hitherto friendly monarchies; a hint to any reflecting Gothic statesman that his nation had not done wisely in so immensely facilitating the imperial triumph over its old Vandal ally.

Ambassadors were speedily sent by Justinian

BOOK IV.
CH. 16.

The Vandal war made the Gothic war necessary.

culiar development of the Teutonic spirit of honour to women which we call chivalry, and which was to make the stalwart knights of the Middle Ages proud to serve under a Lady Paramount, and the counsellors of Elizabeth support her throne with an enthusiastic loyalty of devotion such as few of the kings her predecessors had experienced,—all this was yet in the far future. For the present the Gothic warriors felt themselves distinctly degraded by having to obey the commands of a woman, though nominally only a Regent, and though she was the mother of their King.

It probably availed little against this disparaging view of a woman ruler, that she was possessed of great intellectual accomplishments, that she could speak Latin and Greek as fluently as the ambassadors who came to discourse with her in either tongue, and yet had not lost the full use of the rich Gothic vocabulary of her ancestors¹. The sensibility to the culture of the vanquished lords of Italy, which Amalasuntha showed in her friendships, in her speech, in her daily occupations, was all matter for distrust and suspicion to those of her Gothic countrymen who wished to stand fast by the old ways. Still this

BOOK IV.
CH. 16.

Her intellectual accomplishments.

tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant (Germania, xlv).

¹ 'Atticæ facundiae claritate diserta est. Romani eloquii pompa resplendet, nativi sermonis ubertate gloriatur: excellit cunctos in propriis, cum sit aequaliter utique mirabilis' (Cass. Var. xi. i).

BOOK IV. might have been borne with as a woman's whim ;
 CH. 16.

Her man-
 ner of
 educating
 Athalaric.

but when they perceived that she was bringing up the King of the Goths, the descendant of all the Amal warriors, to the same studious habits, their dislike deepened into indignation. The great Theodoric had said¹, in his proclamation to the Goths, even when Cassiodorus held the pen, 'What is not learned in youth is unknown in riper years. Bring forth your young men and train them in martial discipline.' A young Amal hero should be learning (like the Persian lads of old) 'to ride and to draw the bow, and to speak the truth.' He should be out daily with the young nobles, his equals in age, practising every kind of manly exercise. Instead of this, the unhappy Athalaric had daily to visit the school of a grammarian, to learn what Priscian had just written about the eight parts of speech, or what Boethius (that traitor Boethius) had translated from the Greeks about the science of arithmetic. His only companions were three old men, of Gothic blood it is true, but whom the princess had selected because 'she perceived them to be more intelligent and reasonable than the rest of their countrymen²:' a doubtful recommendation in the eyes of their more impetuous and younger fellow-nobles.

Remon-
 strances of
 the Goths.

At length, a chance event brought matters to a crisis, and emancipated Athalaric from female rule. For some act of disobedience Amalasuntha

¹ Cass. Var. i. 24.

² Procopius, De Bell. Gotth. i. 2.

flogged her royal son, who came forth from the bed-chamber into the apartment of the men, sobbing bitterly. A Gothic king, flogged by a woman and crying over the chastisement; that was too much for the warriors to endure. They clustered together, and some voices were heard openly proclaiming the cruel calumny that Amalasuntha wished to kill her boy that she might marry a second husband, and with him lord it over both Goths and Italians. Soon a deputation, composed of men of such high rank that the princess could not refuse to listen to them, sought an interview with Amalasuntha. In a formal harangue the chief speaker represented that the young King's education was not being conducted in a way that was either suitable for himself or just towards his subjects. 'For letters,' said they, 'are very different from valour: and the teachings of aged men generally lead only to cowardice and meanness. A lad, therefore, who is one day to dare great deeds, and to win high renown, ought to be at once liberated from the fear of schoolmasters and to practise the use of arms. Theodoric, who was himself devoid of literature and yet so mighty a king, would never permit the children of the Gothic warriors to be sent to a grammarian's to study: for he always said "If they once learn to fear the tutor's strap, they will never look unblenching on sword and spear." Therefore, O Lady, let the pedagogues and the old courtiers take their leave, and give to your son suitable

BOOK IV.

CH. 16.

BOOK IV. companions of his own age, who may stir him
CH. 16. up to manly exercises, so that when he comes to
man's estate he may know how to rule after the
fashion of the barbarians.'

Amala-
suntha's
compli-
ance.

Amalasuntha turned pale with anger as she listened to this bold harangue: but, with all her gifts of oratory, she knew when to be silent and when to feign acquiescence in the dictates of a power that was too strong for her. Such a time was now come. She professed to listen to the counsels of the nobles with pleasure, and promised to comply with their request. Athalaric was relieved from his lessons and from his gray-headed companions, whose place was taken by a band of Gothic striplings. Possibly his mother, irritated at the overthrow of her schemes for his education, ceased to take any further interest in the formation of his character, and used no care in the selection of these young comrades. It is certain that Athalaric's training went at one rebound from the extreme of strictness to the extreme of laxity. We do not hear of the martial exercises in which he was to be practised, but we do hear that his young companions soon initiated him into habits of intoxication and other forms of vice. His health, perhaps undermined by the too severe application which had been demanded of him as a child, soon began to give way under his unbridled licentiousness, and before he was sixteen years of age it was manifest to all, and even to Amalasuntha herself, that the young

King of the Goths would never attain to man's estate.

BOOK IV.
CH. 16.

Meanwhile the movement of disaffection towards the princess, once begun, had not been stayed by her concessions. The old Gothic party were now in declared hostility to the Regent, and at length audaciously ordered her to quit the royal palace. Athalaric, who was now of an age at which he might have exerted some influence on public affairs, was aware of the painful position in which his mother was placed ; but, mindful of her former severity and caring more for his vicious pleasures than for any thought of filial duty, he refused to take her part in any way, and rather seemed to take pleasure in showing how lightly he regarded her counsels. That little golden circlet which, since the world began, has sundered so many hearts bound together by the ties of natural affection, had fatally and finally severed this woman from her son.

Further movements of disaffection among the Goths.

Still the daughter of Theodoric did not quail before her enemies, though they were every day growing more clamorous, and every day her position as ruler in her son's name was growing weaker by his more evident hostility. She singled out the three nobles who were most eminent in the party opposed to her authority and ordered them to leave the court and betake themselves to separate places of abode as widely parted from one another as the length and breadth of Italy would allow. The historian unfortunately does not give us the names of these dismissed nobles, but we can hardly be

Amalasuntha's harsh measures towards the Gothic leaders.

BOOK IV. wrong in supposing that if Tulum was alive he
 CH. 16. was one of them. The chief among the Gothic
 generals, a man who had only just passed the
 prime of life, and a kinsman by marriage of the
 family of the Amals, he must, if still living, have
 played an important part in all the discussions as
 to the education of the young King; and from
 what we know of his character we may infer that
 his influence would not be exerted on Amalasun-
 tha's side ¹.

Negotia-
 tions with
 Justinian.

The dismissed nobles kept up communications
 with one another and were now, almost in their
 own despite, converted into conspirators against
 the princess. Being informed of this she prepared
 to strike a bolder stroke. She sent messengers to
 Justinian to inquire if he would be willing to
 receive her in case of her departure from Italy.

Removal
 of the
 national
 treasure.

The Emperor promised her a warm, an eager
 welcome, and ordered that a palace at Dyrrha-
 chium should be prepared for her reception. The
 royal treasure, amounting to the enormous sum
 of 40,000 pounds' weight of gold, more than
 £1,600,000 sterling, was placed on board a ship
 which was sent by the princess, under the charge
 of some of her trustiest adherents, to anchor in
 the harbour of Dyrrhachium. That she should
 have been able, in the precarious condition of her

¹ Felix Dahn, in his romance '*Der Kampf um Rom*,' makes
 the names of the three nobles Tulum, Ibbas, and Pitzias; a very
 probable conjecture as to the first two names. Pitzias was
 still living when the Gothic war broke out.

authority as Regent, thus to deal with what was really the national reserve of gold, shows how absolute was the power transmitted by Theodoric to his successors.

BOOK IV.
CH. 16.

Having thus provided herself with a refuge in case of the failure of any of her plans, Amalasuntha gave secret orders to some of her Gothic courtiers, daring men and entirely devoted to her interests, to seek out the three disgraced nobles in their various places of retirement and put them to death. There was no pretence of judicial process: it was but a triple murder committed under the shadow of the royal authority.

The murder of the three nobles.

The plans of the unscrupulous princess succeeded better than they deserved. In each case the assassin's blow was fatal; and Amalasuntha, now deeming herself secure, ordered the treasure-ship back from Dyrrhachium, and no longer thought of fleeing across the Hadriatic. Such was the state of affairs when the ambassadors of Justinian arrived in Italy to discuss the question of Lilybæum. An irreconcilable breach had been made between Amalasuntha and the patriotic party among the Goths. The son in whose name she exercised the regal authority was visibly sinking into a drunkard's grave. The nobles, perhaps startled by the sudden display of ruthless energy on the part of one whom they had despised both as a woman and as a pedant, were pausing to consider what step should next be taken, and waiting till the death of the nominal king should make the situa-

Temporary success of Amalasuntha.

free market in Sicily and supplying the cavalry, who had really been the winners of the imperial victories, with the horses which were essential to their success. As for Lilybæum, it was a mere rock of no pecuniary value, which had once belonged to the Goths and ought to belong to them again.

This was apparently all that passed on this occasion between the Emperor and the Regent-mother. The real purport of the embassy was very different. In a secret interview Alexander enquired if Amalasuntha still purposed throwing herself on the protection of Justinian, and received in return a formal proposal, made under the seal of absolute secrecy, to surrender the Gothic kingdom in Italy to the Emperor. Seldom has even diplomacy itself veiled a sharper contrast between the real and the apparent, than when this princess, in public proudly refusing to surrender one rocky promontory in Sicily, was in the *secretum* of the palace bargaining away, for a promise of personal safety, the whole of Sicily, Italy, and Illyricum to the stranger.

But even below this intrigue lay another which was being carried on under cover of zeal for the welfare of the Church. With Alexander had started two ecclesiastics, Hypatius Bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius Bishop of Philippi, who had been sent ostensibly to discuss some point of church doctrine¹ with Pope John II. Their real

¹ Procopius says that he could easily explain what this point

BOOK IV.

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534.

Real purport of Alexander's mission.

Amalasuntha's offer.

Ecclesiastical mission.

BOOK IV. mission was to enter into conversation on affairs
 CH. 16. of state with an important personage who was
 534. then in or near Rome, the heir presumptive of the
 Gothic crown, Theodoric's nephew, Theodahad.

Character
 of Theoda-
 had.

It has been already hinted¹ that this man, the son of Amalafrida and the nearest male heir to Theodoric after Athalaric², was not by virtue of his own qualities an eligible candidate for the throne. On the contrary, he, like the bulk of the Merovingian kings, is an illustration of the way in which a degenerate Romanised Goth might unite the vices of the two contrasted nations and the virtues of neither. Greedy and cowardly, with a varnish of philosophic culture over the laziness and dulness of the barbarian, a student of Plato and a practitioner of every kind of low chicanery, fond of Latin literature, but with no trace of the old Roman valour, devoid of gratitude and destitute of honour; such was the man who would now in a very short time be the sole male representative of the great Amal dynasty. By the favour of his uncle he had received, probably from the confiscated estates of the friends of Odovacar, broad lands in the province of Tuscia, and was already by far the largest proprietor in that part of Italy.

of doctrine was, but does not choose to do so: and here he inserts the confession of theistic faith which was quoted in the preceding chapter (see p. 643).

¹ See p. 586.

² Amalaric, the Spanish grandson of Theodoric, fell in a war with the Franks in the year 531, and was succeeded by Theudis, whose power had long overshadowed his own.

But to Theodahad, as Procopius satirically observes, BOOK I
CH. 16. 'to have neighbours of any kind seemed a sad misfortune.' The whole fair province of Tuscia, the His cupid-
pity. broad valley of Arno in the north, the villages which lie within sight of cloudy Radicofani in the centre, the Campagna lands in the south beyond the Ciminian mount, extending within sight of the towers of Rome, all must be one vast *latifundium* belonging to the Gothic prince. While he was sitting in the portico of his palace, apparently immersed in the study of Plato or reading the lines in which Horace described himself as

'Happy enough with his one Sabine farm',¹

he was all the while scheming how, by a judicious mixture of fraud and force, to extrude some Gothic soldier or Roman provincial from the nearest 'Naboth's vineyard' that had not yet been grasped by his all-compassing cupidity. Twice in his uncle's lifetime had he been sharply rebuked for these over-reaching practices. 'Avarice,' as Cassiodorus was commissioned to tell him, 'was a vulgar vice, which the kinsman of Theodoric, a man of the noble Amal blood, was especially bound to avoid.' If Theodahad should not at once yield to the king's mandate, a stout Saio was to be despatched to compel restitution to the rightful owners². Undeterred by the disgrace of having to listen to such reproofs as these, perhaps presuming on the minority of his young cousin and

¹ 'Satis beatus unicus Sabinis.'

² See Cass. Var. iv. 39 and v. 12.

and he would hand over the whole of Tuscia to BOO
the Emperor, and spend the remainder of his days CH.
as a courtier at Constantinople. 5:

When the ambassadors returned to make report Embr of Pe
of their mission, it might reasonably seem to Jus-
tinian that the whole kingdom of Italy was about
to fall into his hands without toil or bloodshed,
only by a little judicious expenditure of treasure.
All that was needed appeared to be to continue
the negotiations which had been commenced with
Amalasuntha and Theodahad, to keep the two
intrigues from being entangled with one another,
and at the right moment to make bold and liberal
drafts on the Count of the Sacred Largesses at
Constantinople. For this purpose a rhetorician of
Byzantium, named Peter, a Thessalonian by birth,
and one of the ablest diplomatists in the imperial
service, was chosen. Peter, who had been Consul
eighteen years before, was at this time in full
middle life¹, a man of good diplomatic address,
subtle, gentle, and persuasive. He knew, however,
as was shown by his conduct of these negotiations,
when to make felt the iron hand which at this
time was always present within the velvet glove
of Byzantine diplomacy.

The appointment of Peter as ambassador, nomi- Chan
positi
the p
befor
Peter
arriv
nally to renew the demand for Lilybæum, really to
carry these secret negotiations to a successful issue,

¹ He can hardly have been more than forty-five or fifty years
of age, as we find him twenty-eight years later, in 562, sent to
Mesopotamia to negotiate a treaty with Persia (Menander, 3).

inherited from the Western Emperors, were at her service and ready to obey her bidding. But now, to get that name of royalty without which no Roman official was safe in obeying her orders, she must face her Gothic subjects, and at least go through the form of being freely chosen by them. So much, notwithstanding all the centralising and despotic tendencies of Theodoric's system, the instinct of a German nationality still required. Without this election, even her scheme of resigning the sceptre to Justinian could not be realised: and yet to obtain it she must face an assembly of those free Gothic warriors whom for the last eight years she had been persistently thwarting and humiliating; nay, she must see the clouded countenances of the relatives of those three nobles whom she had murdered, and whose death, according to old Teutonic notions, still called for vengeance at the hands of their kinsmen.

It must have been the pressure of necessities such as these that drove the princess to an act so extraordinary that Procopius could only account for it by the explanation, which is no explanation, that Amalasuntha was 'fated to perish.' She determined to share the throne with Theodahad, trusting to his sense of gratitude for this elevation to leave her still virtually sole sovereign. Sending for him, she assured him with a winning smile that she had long looked upon her son's early death as inevitable, and had felt that all the hopes of the house of Theodoric must be centred in *him*. Seeing,

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CH. 16.
534.

She decides to offer a partnership in the kingdom to Theodahad.

from which his more sluggish nature would have shrunk. A point as to which there may reasonably be some divergence of opinion is, how far the popular assent was needed, even in form, for the new bestowal of the crown. It may be observed that I have abstained from speaking of Amalasuntha as Queen before the death of her son; and my conjecture is that there was some formality of popular election after the death of Athalaric, in compliance with which his mother and her colleague ascended the throne. There is something to be said, however, for a more strictly monarchical view of the transaction, according to which Amalasuntha may have become Queen in her own right as heiress to her son, and then, by a mere exercise of her sovereign power, may have associated Theodahad with her in the kingdom¹.

The facile pen of Cassiodorus was at once called into requisition to write the epistles which etiquette required from the new sovereigns. In two letters to Justinian, Amalasuntha and Theodahad announced the beginning of their joint reign, and recommended themselves to the favour of a sovereign the maxim of whose Empire had always been friendship with the Amals. In two letters to the Senate, the sister praised the noble birth, the patience and moderation, the prudence and the literary talent of her brother (not even the pen of Cassiodorus could write the words 'the courage of Theodahad'): and the brother exalted the serene

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534.

Letters announcing the accession of Amalasuntha and Theodahad.

¹ This is Dahn's view.

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534.

wisdom of his sister, who, after causing him to make acquaintance with her justice¹, had weighed him in the scale of her accurate judgment and found him worthy to share her throne. As the Divine Wisdom has allotted to man two hands, two ears, two eyes, so was the Gothic kingdom to be thenceforward administered by two sovereigns, who, partaking of all one another's counsels, would rule the land in perfect harmony.

Theodahad's ingratitude.

Words, vain words, with no trace of reality behind them! We seem to perceive the influence of Cassiodorus on the mind of his pupil, in Amalasuntha's over-estimate of the power of mere words, not only to veil unpleasant facts, but to smooth them away out of existence, and by the magic of a well-turned period to breathe noble instincts into a base and greedy soul. The Queen soon found that in trusting to the generosity or the gratitude of Theodahad she was leaning on a broken reed. In fairness to her partner it must be confessed that she had brought the affairs of her kingdom into such a state of almost hopeless bewilderment, that only a very brave, zealous, and loyal colleague could have extricated her from her difficulties: and Theodahad was none of these. The kinsmen of the three murdered

¹ 'Cujus prius ideo justitiam pertuli, ut prius ad ejus protectionis gradum pervenirem.' The expression is peculiar, but agrees remarkably with the account given by Procopius of Amalasuntha's apology for her conduct in promoting the edict of restitution.

nobles, already a powerful party, and including some of the noblest of the Goths, now found themselves reinforced by one who bore the title of King. They, or he—it is not easy to assign the exact share of responsibility for these deeds—broke out into open violence and slew some of the chief adherents of the Queen. Amalasuntha herself was hurried away from Ravenna to one of the two lonely islands which rise out of the waters of the lake of Bolsena. This lake, named from the ancient Etrurian city of Vulsinii, is now the picture of desolation. Malaria rules upon its shores, and scarcely a sign of human habitation appears upon them outside of the villages of Bolsena at its head, Montefiascone and Marta at its foot. The handiwork of Nature is beautiful, the blue lake lying under its forest of oak, and the hills to the north of it stretching up to dark, volcanic, Monte Amiata on the horizon: but man has done nothing to improve it. A strange awe seizes one as one looks down upon the white rocks of the little islet of Marta, now entirely uninhabited, but with a few steps cut in the rock which are said to have led to the prison of Amalasuntha. One seems to see the boat rowed by Theodahad's servants bearing the hapless Queen who had so lately ruled from Sicily to the Danube: one feels how her weary eyes rested on the hills around, the Tuscan hills, all owned by the hateful traitor

BOOK IV.

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535.

Imprison-
ment of
Amala-
suntha,
30 April,
535¹.
The lake
of Bolsena.

¹ We get this date, like that of the death of Athalaric, only from Agnellus.

BOOK IV. Theodahad: and one knows that her clear and
 CH. 16.
 535. manly intelligence must have at once perceived
 that she was brought to this desolate rock only
 to die.

Theoda-
 had's em-
 bassy to
 Constan-
 tinople.

524.

For the moment Theodahad spared the life of his victim. It perhaps suited him to have a hostage for his own safety in the negotiations which he was about to recommence with Byzantium. He despatched an embassy, at the head of which were two Senators, Liberius and Opilio (the latter of whom had been Consul eleven years before with the Emperor Justin), to report the imprisonment of Amalasuntha, to deprecate the Emperor's anger, and to promise that she should receive no injury. An accusation against her that she had plotted against her partner's life was made the excuse for the violence used towards her, and was apparently supported by a letter of confession and self-reproach extorted from the helpless Queen.

Their re-
 port to
 Justinian.

When the ambassadors arrived at Constantinople, all, with one exception, described the recent deeds of Theodahad in such terms as they deserved, Liberius especially, who was a man of high and honourable character, vindicating the conduct of Amalasuntha from all blame. Opilio alone (who was probably father of Cyprian the accuser of Boethius) insisted that reasons of state had justified all that had been done by Theodahad.

Journey
 of Peter.

Meanwhile the ambassador Peter, travelling in the opposite direction, had been gradually learning

the events which changed the whole object of his journey. Soon after starting, he met the ambassadors who told of Athalaric's death and the elevation of Theodahad. When he came in sight of the Hadriatic he met Liberius and Opilio, from whom he heard of the Queen's imprisonment. He prudently went no further westward, but communicated the tidings to the Emperor and waited for fresh orders. When those orders arrived they were, to hand to the Queen a letter in which Justinian assured her that he would exert himself to the utmost for her safety. Peter was directed to make no secret of this letter, but to exhibit it to Theodahad and all the Gothic nobles, among whom the Emperor calculated that it would sow dissensions which might further his schemes of conquest.

Before Peter arrived at Ravenna the tragedy of Amalasuntha's fate was ended. The party of the three nobles found it an easy task to work upon Theodahad's fears and to persuade him that there was no safety for him or for them so long as the Queen lived. He consented to their murderous counsels; they repaired to Vulsinii, crossed the lake, climbed the white cliffs, and murdered the unhappy daughter of Theodoric in her bath. Theodahad loudly protested that the deed was done without his knowledge or approval, but as he loaded the murderers with honours and rewards, none heeded his denial.

Peter at once sought an audience with Theo-

BOOK IV.
CH. 16.
535.

Death of
Amala-
suntha,
May (?),
535.

BOOK IV. dahad and informed him that, after the deed of
 CH. 16. wickedness which had been done, there must be
 535. war without truce or treaty between him and
 Peter declares a the Emperor¹. Contrary, however, to the custom
 truceless war against usual both in ancient and modern times, he seems
 Theodahad. after this declaration to have remained still at the
 Gothic Court, evidently intending to see what
 diplomatic advantage he might yet obtain from
 the fears of the guilty King².

Cause of
 Amalasun-
 tha's mis-
 fortunes.

So perished Amalasuntha, Queen of the Goths
 and Romans, a woman worthy not only of a less
 tragic death, but of a more successful life, had she

¹ Πέτρος μὲν οὖν Θεοδάτῃ τε ἀντικρυς ἐμαρτύρατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 Γότθοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ τούτου ἐξειργασμένου ἀσπονδος βασιλεῖ
 τε καὶ σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἴσται (Procop. de Bell. Gotth. i. 4).

Procopius
 in his
 Anecdota
 makes Peter
 himself privy to
 Amalasuntha's death.
 According to the account of the matter
 there given by him, when Amalasuntha conceived the idea of
 abdicating the throne and retiring to Constantinople, Theodora,
 fearing the effect on her husband's affections of the presence of
 so beautiful and accomplished a woman, of royal blood, deter-
 mined to prevent the visit, and gave secret instructions to
 Peter to that effect, when he set forth on his embassy. Ac-
 cordingly on his arrival in Italy, Peter 'using I know not
 what arguments, persuaded Theodahad to make away with
 Amalasuntha.' For this service Peter was rewarded with the
 dignity of Master of the Offices, but he earned by it the hatred
 of all good men. There is here a direct contradiction, which is
 indeed acknowledged by the author, between the two versions
 of the same transaction given by him: but he says that fear of
 Theodora prevented him from giving the true account of the
 matter before. Different enquirers will probably come to
 different conclusions when the evidence is thus conflicting.
 To me the story given in the History seems simple, straight-
 forward, and coherent, and I am disposed to reject the account
 in the Anecdota as a malicious after-thought of the revengeful
 old age of Procopius.

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 To me the story given in the History seems simple, straight-
 forward, and coherent, and I am disposed to reject the account
 in the Anecdota as a malicious after-thought of the revengeful
 old age of Procopius.

only possessed, in addition to her rare intellectual gifts, the humbler qualities of tact, insight into the minds of others, and some power of sympathising even with the unreasonable prejudices of those around her. She led a pure life, had a high and queenly spirit, and was earnest in the pursuit of wisdom, seeming as it were a kind of Gothic Minerva, sprung from the Gothic Jove. But half of her splendid qualities might have been wisely exchanged for the gift of reading the thoughts of the rough barbarians who guarded her throne, and above all, for sufficient remembrance of what is in the heart of a child, and sufficient imagination of what is in the heart of a boy, to keep her from the alternate errors of over-strictness and over-laxity by which she ruined the health and character of her son Athalaric.

BOOK IV.
CH. 16.

NOTE I. ON THE OSTROGOTHIC COINAGE.

NOTE I. THE coins of the Ostrogothic Kings figured on the opposite plate, though for the most part contemptible as works of art, furnish an interesting commentary on the peculiar relations existing between Ravenna and Byzantium.

Before describing them, however, let us notice the little silver coin (No. 1), which may be probably ascribed to Odovacar. Its technical description is—

Silver. 'A Half-Siliqua' (twenty-four Siliquae went to the Solidus Aureus, and therefore the Half-Siliqua would be worth about three-pence).

'*Obverse.* FL. OD[OV]AC. Profile of Odovacar(?) with moustache.

'*Reverse.* Monogram of ODOVA surrounded with a wreath.'

The very few coins of this type that are preserved are in poor condition, and the lettering must be considered doubtful; but on the whole it is probable that we have here a genuine coin of Odovacar, and if so, it is important to observe that it bears his own effigy, and that there is no allusion direct or indirect to the Emperor at Constantinople.

We now pass to the Ostrogothic coins. Those here figured of Theodoric and his grandson are thus described:

No. 2. Silver. 'Half-Siliqua of Theodoric.'

'*Obv.* D N (Dominus Noster) ANASTASIVS PP AVG (in reversed letters). Extremely youthful profile of Anastasius with diadem and paludamentum (military cloak).

'*Rev.* INVICTA ROMA. Monogram of THEODORICVS. Cross and star.'

It will be seen that here we have no effigy of Theodoric, only his monogram. None of the Ostrogothic Kings

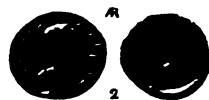
1820



O DOACAR.



ATHALARIC.



THEODORIC.



WITIGES.



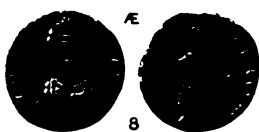
THEODAHAD.



WITIGES.



BADUILA (TOTILA.)



TEIAS.



LEO II & ZENO.



JUSTIN I & JUSTINIAN.



ANASTASIUS.

COINS OF OSTROGOTHIC KINGS OF ITALY,
AND CONTEMPORARY EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

appears ever to have put his own effigy on any gold or silver coin. As we have no copper coins of Theodoric we are unable to say whether he put his effigy on these. The utter absence of portraiture in the effigy of Anastasius will be at once remarked. The at least septuagenarian Emperor is a young lad of eighteen, of an almost girlish type of beauty.

NOTE 1.

No. 3. Copper. 'Piece of Ten Nummi of Athalaric.' (As the Solidus Aureus contained 6000 Nummi, and the Siliqua 250, this piece was theoretically equivalent to one twenty-fifth of a Siliqua, or about a farthing of English money.)

'*Obv.* INVICTA ROMA. Helmeted bust of Rome.

'*Rev.* D N ATHALARICVS. Warrior standing with spear and shield: in the field s c (Senatus Consulto) and x (Decem Nummi).'

The silver coins of Athalaric bear the effigy of Justin or Justinian; the copper bear sometimes these Imperial effigies, sometimes, as above, a bust of 'Invicta Roma' or of 'Felix Ravenna,' a female bust with a mural crown. There is no instance of the effigy of Athalaric being found on a coin.

Of Amalasuntha alone no coins have been found. This fact confirms the view taken in the preceding chapter, that Amalasuntha was not regarded as queen till after the death of her son and the association of Theodahad.

No. 4. Copper. 'Piece of Forty Nummi of Theodahad.'

'*Obv.* D N THEODAHATVS REX. Bust of Theodahad with closed crown, jewelled robe, and cross on breast.

'*Rev.* VICTORIA PRINCIPVM. Victory marching, on prow, with wreath and palm-branch. s c in field.'

As to this coin I cannot do better than quote the striking words of Mr. Keary (Numismatic Chronicle, N. S. xviii. 157):—

'This is in every way a remarkable piece. It is the first coin ever issued having the portrait of a King of the

NOTE I. Teutonic race. The busts which appear upon the contemporary coins of the Vandals, or upon the other coins of this dynasty, are in no sense portraits or attempts at portraits. Though they are surrounded by the name of the King, they are merely conventional busts copied directly from the imperial coins; and the same remark applies to the coins of Theodeberht the Frank, which begin to appear about this time. But in the case of the coins before us there can be no doubt that a portrait was intended, and that the features of Theodahat, down to the slight moustache upon the upper lip, are given with as much skill as the artist possessed. The dress, too, is worth noticing. Its magnificence is barbaric, and to our eyes almost Oriental; and we here see the closed crown which has been throughout mediæval and modern Europe the symbol of empire. The Roman imperial office was expressed by the *diademed* head; the Germanic invaders of Roman territory adopted the crown as the symbol of nobility and of kingship. We may guess from these coins that the Ostrogoths, while they took the *DN*, which was the title applied to the Roman Emperors, did not finally adopt either the imperial title or the imperial diadem. They adhere to the "rex" and the crown, which has, perhaps, more sacred associations for *them*.'

I may add that we have in this piece an illustration of the paradox which so often meets us in the Imperial coinage, that the worse the sovereign the better is the artistic character of his coins. Also that we may perhaps read *Victoria Principum* (in the plural) as alluding to the association of Theodahad and Amalasuntha.

No. 5. Silver. 'Siliqua of Witigis.'

'*Obv.* *DN IVSTINIANVS PP AVG.* Youthful bust of Justinian in armour and paludamentum.

'*Rev.* Within wreath *DN VVITIGES REX.*'

No. 6. Copper. 'Piece of Ten Nummi of Witigis.'

'*Obv.* *INVICTA ROMA.* Helmeted bust of Rome.

'*Rev.* Same as of No. 5.'

The conventionality of the numismatic artist has not often been more strongly exemplified than in these coins. The Gothic King, who was during his whole reign at bitter war with Justinian, puts the effigy of that Emperor on his silver pieces: and the warrior, the chief event of whose reign was his long and unsuccessful siege of Rome, stamps the image of 'Roma,' which he too truly found 'Invicta,' on the copper pieces in which he paid the discomfited besiegers.

NOTE I.

There are no effigies of Witigis on coins of any description.

The monogram of his wife 'Matasunda' is found on the reverse of a silver siliqua, bearing on the obverse the effigy of Justinian.

No coins of Ildibad or Eraric have been found.

We now come to the reign of Totila (Baduila), whose coins at once tell the tale of the increased bitterness of the feud between the Goths and Justinian.

No. 7. Silver. 'Siliqua of Totila.'

'Obv. DN ANASTASIUS PP AVG. Youthful effigy of Anastasius (closely resembling that of Justinian in No. 5).

'Rev. In wreath DN BADVILA REX.'

No. 8. Copper. 'Piece of Five Nummi of Totila.'

'Obv. DN BADVILA REX. Totila, full face, with closed crown and jewelled robe.

'Rev. (FLOREA)S SEMPER. Warrior standing with spear: x in the field.' (Mr. Keary thinks this x is a mistake for v, as from the size it can hardly be a piece of Ten Nummi.)

We see that, on account of the hostility between Totila and Justinian, the effigy of the latter is omitted from the silver coins of the former, upon which that of Anastasius, who has been dead for near thirty years, again appears. On one silver coin, instead of Anastasius the effigy of Totila is figured. Also on the copper coinage, instead of any pretence of celebrating 'Invicta Roma,' Totila puts his own

NOTE I. image with a crown not unlike that of Theodahad. One of his copper coins has the likeness of a female with a mural crown, and the legend FELIX TICINVS, probably with reference to Totila's coronation at Ticinum.

No. 9. Silver. 'Siliqua of Teias.'

'Obv. DN ANASTASIUS PP AVG. Feminine effigy of Emperor.

'Rev. DN THILA REX in wreath.'

All the coins of Teias bear the effigy of Anastasius. Friedländer conjectures that they were struck at Ticinum, both Rome and Ravenna being in the hands of the enemy. The King's name is spelt sometimes Theia, sometimes (as here) Thila.

It will be observed that there are no gold coins in our list, none having been struck by any Ostrogothic King. For the reasons of this abstinence on their part see vol. iv. pp. 611-612, and the curious passage there quoted from Procopius.

BYZANTINE COINS.

A few coins of contemporary Emperors are added.

No. 10. Gold. 'Solidus Aureus of Leo II and his father Zeno.'

'Obv. DN LEO ET ZENO PP AVG (no plural modifications, though for two Emperors). Conventional head of Emperor in armour and helmet, holding spear and shield.

'Rev. SALVS REIPUBLICAE: ZENO in exergue. Front figures, man and boy seated on a throne, both with nimbus: cross between them.'

No. 11. Copper. 'Follis or Piece of Forty Nummi of Anastasius.'

'Obv. DN ANASTASIUS PP AVG. Bust of Anastasius with diadem and paludamentum.

'Rev. M (Greek numeral for forty). Below €, to denote

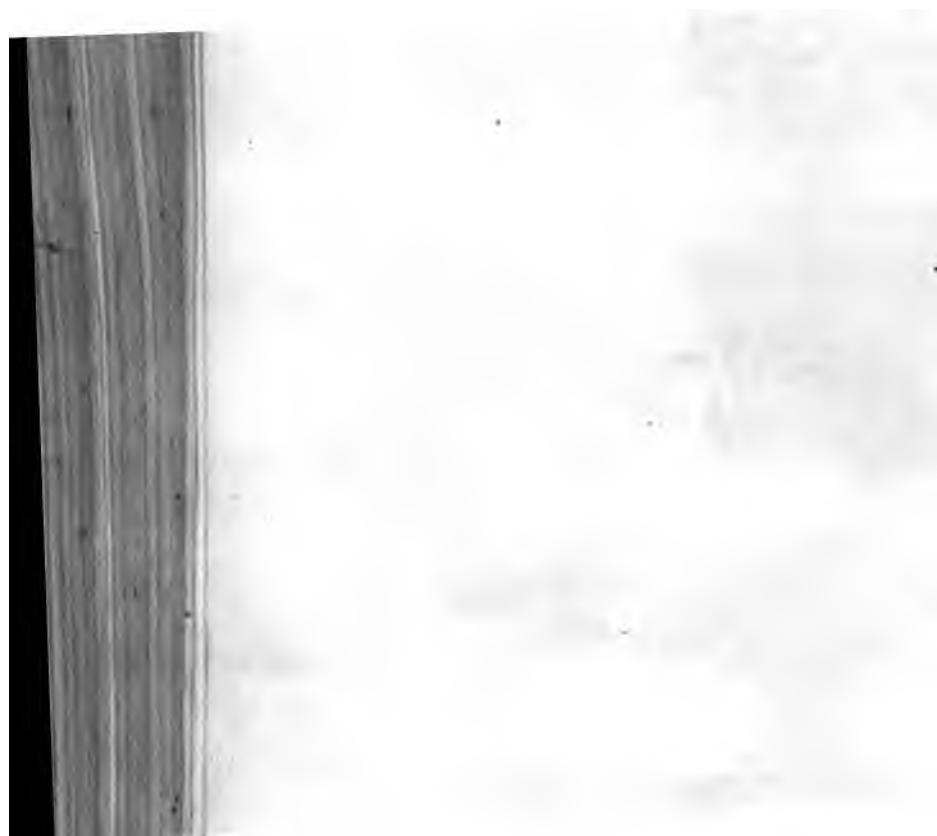
the fifth year of the Emperor's reign. A star on each side, NOTE I.
a cross above. CON in exergue.'

No. 12. Gold. 'Solidus Aureus of Justin I and Justinian.'

'*Obv.* DN IVSTIN ET IVSTINI PP AVG (no plural modifications). CONOB in exergue. Front figures of two Emperors, each with nimbus: cross between them.

'*Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG. (sic). Θ (ninth year of Justinian's reign). CONOB in exergue. Angel standing, holding cross and orb.'

The best information on the subject of the Ostrogothic coinage is to be found in 'Die Münzen der Ostgothen,' by Julius Friedländer (Berlin, 1844), and in the valuable articles on 'The Coinage of Western Europe, from the Fall of the Western Empire till the Accession of Charlemagne,' contributed to the Numismatic Chronicle (1878), by Mr. C. F. Keary of the British Museum.





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